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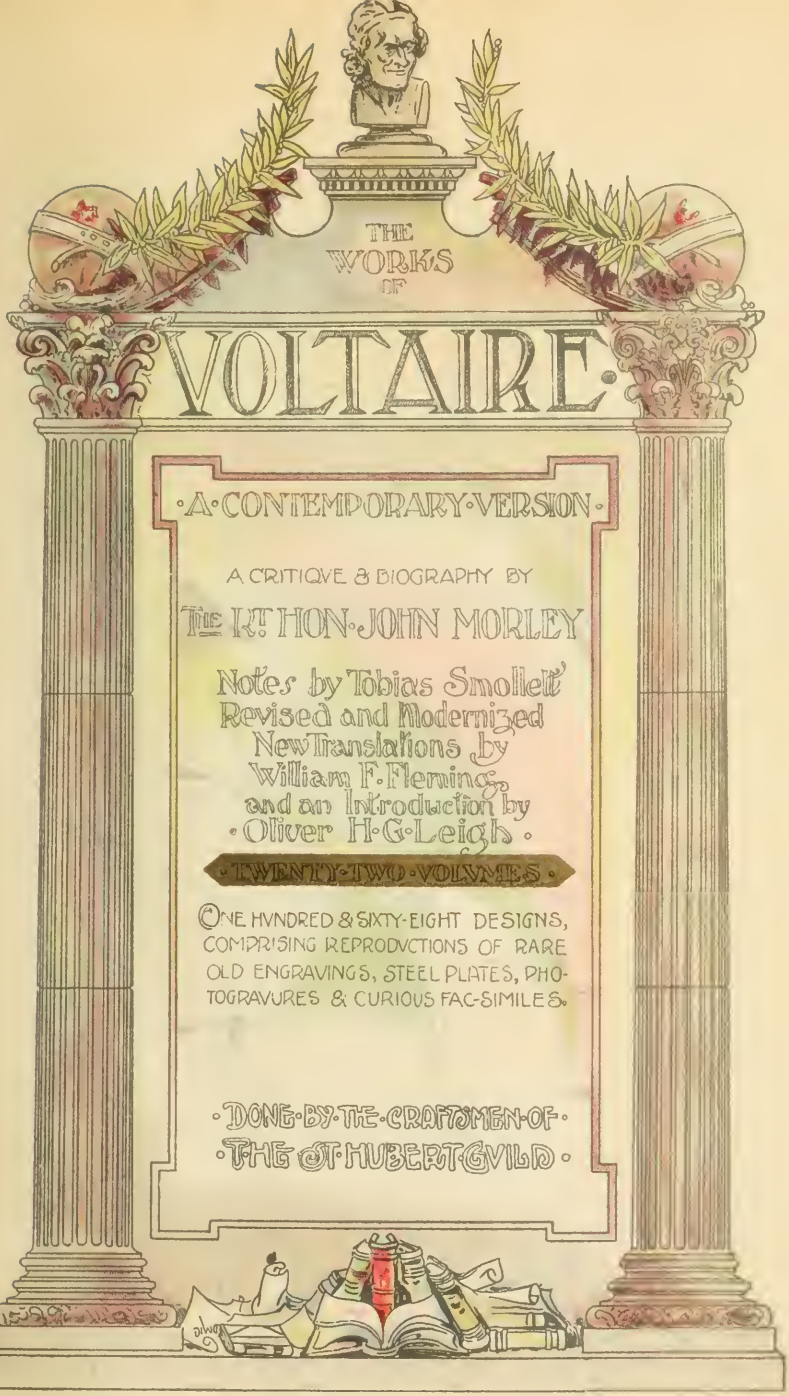
The WORKS of VOLTAIRE

*"Between two servants of Humanity, who appeared eighteen hundred years apart, there is a mysterious relation. * * * * Let us say it with a sentiment of profound respect: JESUS WEPT: VOLTAIRE SMILED. Of that divine tear and of that human smile is composed the sweetness of the present civilization."*

VICTOR HUGO.

QUEEN ELIZABETH


THE
WORKS
OF
VOLTAIRE
A CONTEMPORARY VERSION
A CRITIQVE & BIOGRAPHY BY
THE RT HON JOHN MORLEY
Notes by Tobias Smollett
Revised and Modernized
New Translations by
William F. Fleming
and an Introduction by
Oliver H.G. Leigh
TWENTY-TWO VOLUMES
ONE HVNDRED & SIXTY-EIGHT DESIGNS,
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VOLTAIRE

ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY

VOL. XV — PART I

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ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY.

CHAPTER CXXXVIII.

THE INVASION DESIGNED AGAINST ENGLAND — THE INVINCIBLE ARMADA — THE POWER OF PHILIP II. IN FRANCE — INQUIRY INTO THE DEATH OF DON CARLOS, ETC.

With this view Philip fitted out that prodigious fleet, which was to have been seconded in its operations by another armament from Flanders, and a general rising of all the Catholics in England. These preparations proved the ruin of Mary Stuart, and hurried her to the scaffold, instead of delivering her from it. Philip had now nothing left but to avenge her death by seizing England for himself; after which he looked upon Holland as already reduced, and punished for its rebellion.

The gold of Peru was lavished for the purposes of this expedition. On June 3, 1588, the Invincible Armada set sail from the port of Lisbon, with one hundred and fifty large ships, manned with twenty thousand soldiers, nearly seven thousand seamen who could be armed for fight upon occasion,

and mounted with three thousand pieces of cannon. The duke of Parma was ready with transports and an army of thirty thousand men, which he had raised in Flanders, to join Philip the instant he landed in England. It seemed impossible for the English ships, which were no more than small barks in comparison with those of the Spaniards, to stand against the force of these floating citadels, whose upper works were above three feet thick, and impenetrable to cannon. Nevertheless, this well-concerted scheme failed in almost every part. The English soon appeared with a fleet of one hundred sail, and, notwithstanding their inferiority in bulk, numbers, and strength, stopped the progress of this formidable fleet. They took several of the Spanish ships, and dispersed the rest by the means of fireships; a storm seconded the efforts of the English. The admiral's ship, called the *Invincible,* was very near to being lost on the coast of Zealand. The duke of Parma's army, which could not put to sea without the assistance of the Spanish fleet, remained inactive. Philip's navy, unable to resist the English and the winds, which were always contrary to them, retreated by way of the North Sea; some were wrecked on the coast of Zealand, and others on the Orkney Islands, and the coasts of Scotland; and another part was cast away on the coast of Ireland, where the country people massacred all the soldiers and sailors who had escaped the fury of the tempest, and the viceroy had the inhumanity to hang the rest. In short, of the

whole Armada, only fifty ships returned to Spain, and of thirty thousand men, who had sailed on this expedition, not more than six thousand escaped from shipwreck, and the sword and fire of the enemy.

The duke of Parma, with his fine army of thirty thousand men, had no better success in subduing the Netherlands, than the Armada had in its attempt on England. The Hollanders, who found a ready defence in their canals, sluices, and narrow causeways, who were fond of liberty to a degree of idolatry, and were all generals under their princes of Orange, were in a condition to have resisted a much more formidable force.

Philip was the only prince who could have continued formidable after so great a disaster; but America and Asia still supplied him with riches, which made all his neighbors tremble; and, after having failed in his design on England, he saw himself upon the point of reducing the kingdom of France to a province of Spain. At the same time that he was making the conquest of Portugal, carrying on the war in Flanders, and engaged in the expedition against England, he raised that faction in France, known by the name of the Holy League, which subverted the throne, and distracted the nation; and afterward, by sowing dissension in that very League which he had protected, he was thrice on the point of being declared sovereign of France, under the title of protector, with an unlimited power of conferring all posts. His daughter,

the infanta Eugenia, was to have been queen, under his direction; and the crown of France was to have been transferred in dowry with her to the person she should marry. This proposal had been actually made by the cabal of sixteen, in the year 1589, after the murder of Henry III. The duke of Mayenne, who was head of the League, had no other way of eluding it, than by saying that, as the League had been formed on account of religion, the title of Protector of France could belong only to the pope. Philip's ambassador had carried this negotiation to a great length, before the holding of the Estates of Paris, in 1593; insomuch that the abolition of the Salic Law was a long time in deliberation, and, at length, the infanta was proposed as queen of the states of Paris.

Philip had insensibly accustomed the French to a dependence upon him; for, on one hand, he supplied the League with sufficient aid to prevent its falling, and, on the other, he assisted his son-in-law, Emanuel, duke of Savoy, with forces against France. He kept troops in pay for him, and assisted him in getting himself declared protector by the Parliament of Provence; so that the French, grown familiar with these proceedings, might acknowledge Philip as protector of the whole kingdom.

It is more than probable, that France in the end would have been forced to do it. Philip, in fact, already reigned in Paris by his ambassador, who lavished pensions upon all who were in his interest.

He had the Sorbonne, and all the religious orders on his side. His scheme was not to make France a conquered country, as he had done Portugal, but to oblige that nation to request him to govern it. It was with this in view that he, in 1590, despatched the duke of Parma from the farther end of the Netherlands to relieve Paris, when pushed by the victorious arms of Henry III.; recalled him again, when by his judicious marches he had delivered that capital, without striking a blow; and afterward, in 1591, when Henry IV. sat down before the city of Rouen, sent the same general to oblige him to raise the siege. It was very surprising, that, while Philip could thus determine the fate of war in France, Maurice, prince of Orange, and the Hollanders should be sufficiently powerful to cross his designs, and send aid to Henry IV.— they, who, not ten years before, had been considered in Spain only as a parcel of obscure rebels, who could not possibly escape the punishment intended for them. However, they sent a reinforcement of three thousand men to the king of France; but the duke of Parma nevertheless delivered the city of Rouen, as he had before done that of Paris.

After this Philip recalled him again; and thus by alternately giving and withdrawing his assistance, he always made himself necessary, and spread his snares from the frontiers to the very heart of the kingdom, in order to reduce it by degrees wholly under his dominion. He had already established his power through the greatest part of Brittany by force

of arms. His son-in-law, the duke of Savoy, had done the same in Provence, and a part of Dauphiny. There was always a road open for the Spanish troops from Arras to Paris, and from Fontarabia to the River Loire. Philip himself was so thoroughly persuaded that France could not escape him, that in his conferences with the president Jeannin, the duke of Mayenne's envoy, he always used to say: "My city of Paris, my city of Orleans, my town of Rouen."

The court of Rome, though it feared him, was nevertheless obliged to assist him, and he had always the arms of religion in his favor. This cost him only the outside show of a great zeal for the Catholic religion, which served him likewise for a pretext against Geneva, whose destruction he was at that time endeavoring to bring about. In the year 1589 he sent his son-in-law, the duke of Savoy, with an army to reduce Geneva and the neighboring country. But this rich and powerful monarch always saw his designs frustrated by poor nations, whom a love for liberty exalted above themselves. The Genevans, assisted only by the two cantons of Berne and Zurich, and three hundred soldiers sent them by Henry IV., bade defiance to all his riches, and the arms of his son-in-law. These same people, in the year 1602, rescued their city out of the hands of the duke of Savoy, who surprised it by escalade, in a time of profound peace, and was giving it up to plunder. They had even the boldness to punish this attempt of a powerful monarch as a public robbery;

and hanged thirteen commissioned officers, who failing as conquerors, were treated like midnight robbers.

Thus did Philip, without quitting his closet, incessantly carry on a war at one and the same time in the Netherlands, against Maurice, in almost all the provinces of France, against Henry IV., at Geneva and in Switzerland, and against the English and Dutch by sea. But what were the fruits of these mighty projects, which for so long kept Europe in perpetual alarms? In 1596 Henry IV. deprived him of all France in a quarter of an hour, simply by going to mass. The English, whom he had himself taught to fight at sea, and who were now as good sailors as the Spaniards, plundered his possessions in America, destroyed his galleons, and burned his town of Cadiz. In short, after having once more laid waste the kingdom of France, and taken the city of Amiens by surprise — which was retaken again by the valor of Henry IV.— he found himself obliged to conclude a peace at Vervins, and to acknowledge as king of France, a person whom he had never called any other than Prince of Berne. It is also particularly worthy of observation that, by this treaty of peace he restored Calais, which had been taken by the archduke Albert, his governor in the Netherlands, during the troubles of France; and that no mention was made in the treaty of Elizabeth's pretended right; who got neither this place, nor the

eight hundred thousand crowns which she was entitled to by the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis.

Philip's power might now be compared to a mighty flood confined within its banks, after having overflowed the countries far and near. He still remained the first potentate in Europe. Elizabeth and especially Henry IV. enjoyed a greater share of personal glory; but Philip retained, to the last moment of his reign, that powerful ascendency which his great dominions and immense riches had given him. Though he had expended three thousand millions of our livres on his despotic cruelty in the Netherlands and his ambition in France, it had not impoverished him: he found an inexhaustible source of riches in America and the East Indies. It only happened that he enriched Europe by his treasures, without designing it. The sums he had lavished to carry on his intrigues in England, France, and Italy, and what his numerous armies in the Netherlands had cost him, by increasing the riches of the people whom he wanted to subdue, had increased the value of commodities almost everywhere, and Europe became wealthy from the evils premeditated against her.

He had a yearly revenue of nearly three millions of gold ducats, without being obliged to levy new taxes on his subjects. This was more than all the monarchs of Christendom had together; and in this respect he was possessed of enough to purchase many kingdoms, though not to conquer them. The

magnanimity of Elizabeth, the valor of Henry IV., and the courage of the princes of Orange triumphed over all his treasures and his intrigues. But if we except the burning of Cadiz, Spain was, during his reign, always peaceable and happy.

The Spaniards had at that time a distinguished superiority over all other nations; their language was spoken at Paris, Vienna, Milan, and Turin; their fashions, their manner of thinking and writing, captivated the minds of the Italians; and from the time of Charles V. till the beginning of Philip III.'s reign, the Spaniards were held in greater esteem than any other people.

When Philip made peace with France, he gave the Netherlands and Franche-Comté as a dowry to his daughter, Clara Eugenia, whom he had not been able to make queen, but as a fief revertible to the crown of Spain in default of her issue.

On Sept. 13, 1598, Philip died at the age of seventy-one, in his vast palace of the Escorial, which he had made a vow to build, in case his generals should win the battle of St. Quentin; as if it were of any consequence to God, whether the constable de Montmorency or Philibert of Savoy gained the victory, or as if the divine blessing could be purchased by magnificent edifices.

Posterity has ranked this prince in the number of the most powerful kings of the earth, but not the greatest. He was called the "Demon of the South," because, from the centre of Spain, which is the most

southerly part of Europe, he had disturbed all the other kingdoms on that continent.

If, after viewing him on the greater theatre of the world, we come to consider him in the light of a private man, we shall find him a rigid and suspicious master, a cruel lover and husband, and a merciless father.

There was one remarkable circumstance in his domestic life, which still exercises the curiosity of the world: this was the death of his son, Don Carlos. No one knows the manner of this prince's death; his body, which lies in the royal vault of the Escorial, appears to have had the head severed from it. But this is pretended to have been done because the leaden case which holds the body was too small. It has been asserted, in the life of the czar Peter I., that when he resolved to condemn his son to death, he sent to Spain for the acts relating to Don Carlos's trial; but neither the trial nor sentence of this prince have ever appeared. We are as little acquainted with his crime as with the nature of his death.[1] It is proved neither by facts nor probability,

[1] If our author had consulted the historians, Herrera, Ferreras, Cabrera, and Diego de Colmenarez, he would have had no reason to say the crime of Don Carlos was not known. He was a prince of a very passionate and perverse disposition, deformed, and ungracious: he had been detected in carrying on intrigues with the malcontents in the Low Countries: he was impatient to espouse the archduchess, Anne of Austria, and the negotiation about this match proving tedious, he concluded that his father thought him unfit for marriage, and incapable of

that his father had him condemned by the Inquisition.

All that we know concerning it is that, in 1568, his father came in person and arrested him in his apartment, and that he wrote to the empress, his sister, that he had never discovered any capital vice nor dishonorable action in the prince, his son, but that he had caused him to be confined for his

succession. Stimulated by this opinion, he resolved to fly into Germany, and borrow considerable sums from several noblemen. Then he broached the design to Don John of Austria, and solicited his concurrence: but Don John refused to be concerned, and exhorted him to lay aside his intention; yet still persisting in this scheme, he was abandoned by his confessor, his letters were intercepted by the king, who likewise discovered that the postmaster had received the prince's order to provide horses for a long journey. These were the reasons which induced his father to secure his person. For this purpose he entered the prince's apartment at midnight, attended by several noblemen and a party of guards. Don Carlos, seeing him come in, shrank under the bed-clothes, crying: "Will your majesty kill me? I am not mad, but the treatment I have met with makes me desperate." The king desired he would make himself easy, declaring that everything was intended for his good. He then seized all his arms and papers, committed him to the charge of six noblemen of the first rank, and immediately communicated to the pope's nuncio and all the foreign ministers, the motives which had induced him to take this extraordinary step.

St. Evremond, one of those writers who say he was strangled by his father's order, endeavors to throw a veil of ridicule over a very serious transaction. He affirms that the executioner in going to perform his office, said: "Don't make any noise sir, this is all for your good." We have in a former volume given an account of his death.

own good, and that of the kingdom. He wrote at the same time in quite contrary terms to Pope Pius V., to whom he says in his letter of Jan. 20, 1568: "The force of a vicious disposition had from his tenderest years destroyed in Don Carlos all the effects of his paternal instructions."

After these letters, in which Philip gives an account of the imprisonment of his son, we meet with no others in which he clears himself of his death; and this alone, joined to the rumor which prevailed throughout all Europe, affords a strong presumption that he was guilty of the murder of his son. His silence in the midst of the public reports is another foundation for justifying those who assert that the cause of this shocking affair was the passion which Don Carlos had conceived for Elizabeth of France, his mother-in-law, and she for him. Nothing could appear more probable. Elizabeth had been brought up in a gay and voluptuous court. Philip II. was perpetually engaged in intrigues with the fair sex. Gallantry was the very essence of a Spaniard, and examples of infidelity abounded everywhere. It was natural for Don Carlos and Elizabeth, who were about the same age, to have entertained a mutual passion for each other. The sudden death of this princess, which followed soon after that of Don Carlos, confirmed these suspicions. All Europe believed that Philip had sacrificed his wife and his son to emotions of jealousy; and this belief was strengthened when, some time afterward,

this same jealous disposition led him to resolve upon the death of the famous Antonio Perez, who was his rival with the princess of Eboli.

These crimes we find publicly charged against him by the prince of Orange, in the famous manifesto which he laid before the tribunal of the public. It is very surprising that Philip did not at least employ some of the venal pens of the kingdom to reply to these accusations; and that no one in Europe ever offered to refute what the prince of Orange had advanced. These do not indeed amount to absolute proofs, but they are the strongest presumptions against him; and history should not neglect reporting them as such, as the judgment of posterity is the only defence we have against successful tyranny.

CHAPTER CXXXIX.

THE ENGLISH UNDER EDWARD VI., MARY, AND ELIZABETH.

The English had not the same splendor of success as the Spaniards, nor such influence in other courts, nor did they possess that great power which rendered Spain so dangerous to its neighbors; but they acquired a new kind of glory from the ocean, and the extensive maritime trade they carried on. They knew their true element, and that alone made them more happy than all the foreign possessions and conquests of their ancient kings. Had these kings

reigned in France, England would have been only a subjected province. This nation, which was formed with so much difficulty, and which had been so frequently and easily subdued by the Danish and Saxon pirates,[1] and the duke of Normandy, were only the rude instruments under Edward III. and Henry V. of the transient glory of those monarchs; but under Elizabeth they became a powerful, civilized, industrious, laborious, and enterprising nation. The improvements made by the Spaniards in navigation excited their emulation, and they undertook three successive voyages to discover a northwest passage to Japan and China. Drake and Cavendish sailed around the globe, attacking in all places the Spaniards, who had extended their conquests and trade to both ends of the world. Several private companies of adventurers, who depended entirely on their own stock, carried on a very profitable trade upon the coast of Guinea.[2] The famous Sir Walter Raleigh,[3] without receiving the least assistance from

[1] The English people were never conquered by the Saxons and Danes; for they themselves are the posterity of those very conquerors. What are the English people but the descendants of Saxons, Danes, and Normans? We might with the same reason say that the French were easily conquered by the Franks under Clovis, who were in fact the ancestors of the French people.

[2] There was no English company that traded to the coast of Guinea in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

[3] Sir Walter Raleigh established the colony of Virginia, which is quite a distance from New England.

the government, founded and improved the colony of New England, in the southern part of America, in the year 1585. By these expeditions they soon formed the best marine in Europe, as sufficiently appears from their fitting out a hundred sail to oppose the Armada sent against them by Philip II., going afterward to insult him upon his own coasts, destroying his ships, and burning his city of Cadiz; at length, grown more formidable, they, in 1602, defeated the first fleet which Philip III. sent to sea, and from that time acquired a superiority by sea, which they have since maintained, except on some few occasions.

From the beginning of Elizabeth's reign they applied themselves to manufactures. The Flemish, being persecuted by Philip II., removed to London, carrying with them an increase of inhabitants, industry, and riches. This capital, which enjoyed the blessings of peace under Elizabeth, cultivated the liberal arts, which are the badges and consequences of plenty. The names of Spencer and Shakespeare, who flourished in those days, are handed down to other nations. In a word, London was enlarged, civilized, and embellished, and in a short time half of the little island of Great Britain was able to counterbalance the whole power of Spain. The English were the second nation in the world in industry; and in liberty they were the first. During this reign there were public companies established for trading to the Levant and the North.

Agriculture now began to be considered in England as the chief riches of the state, while in Spain they began to neglect this real good for ideal treasures. The gold and silver trade of the new world enriched the king of Spain: but in England the subject was benefited by the sale of the natural commodities. A private merchant of London, called Sir Thomas Gresham, was at that time rich enough to build the Royal Exchange at his own expense, and a college which bears his name. Several other citizens founded hospitals and public schools. Such were the glorious effects produced by liberty in that kingdom that private persons could do what kings at present can only do in the most happy administration.

The royal revenues in Elizabeth's reign seldom exceeded six hundred thousand pounds sterling, and the number of inhabitants in the kingdom was not more than four millions. The single kingdom of Spain contained at least as many more. And yet Elizabeth defended herself with success, and had at once the glory of assisting Henry IV. to subdue his kingdom, and the Dutch to establish their republic.

But to acquire a clearer knowledge of the life and reign of Elizabeth, it will be necessary to take a short retrospect of the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary.

Elizabeth was born in 1533, and while yet in her cradle, was declared the lawful heiress to the crown of England; a short time afterward, upon her

mother being removed from the throne to the scaffold, she was declared a bastard. Her father, who ended his life in 1547, died like a tyrant, as he had lived. While on his deathbed, he gave orders for executions, and always under the sanction of justice. He condemned the duke of Norfolk and his son to lose their heads, on no other pretence than that they had the arms of England marked on their plate. The father indeed obtained his pardon,[1] but the son was executed. It must be owned, that as the English are said to set little value upon their lives, their governors have treated them according to their taste. Even the reign of Edward VI., son of Henry VIII., and Jane Seymour, was not exempt from these bloody tragedies. Thomas Seymour, high admiral of England, and the king's own uncle, was beheaded for having quarrelled with his brother, Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset, who was protector of the kingdom during the king's minority; and soon afterward Somerset himself suffered the same fate. The reign of Edward VI., which lasted only five years, and during which the nation was, or appeared to be, of the Protestant religion, was a scene of seditions and troubles. When he died he left his crown to neither Mary nor Elizabeth, but to Lady Jane Grey, a descendant of Henry VII.,

[1] The death-warrant was actually signed and sent to the lieutenant of the Tower, and the duke would have been beheaded next morning had not the king himself died in the interim.

and granddaughter of the widow of Louis XII. and one Brandon, a private gentleman, who had been created duke of Suffolk. This Jane Grey was wife of Lord Guilford, son of the duke of Northumberland, a nobleman of great power in Edward's time. Edward's will, by which he bequeathed the throne to Lady Jane Grey, only proved the means of bringing her to a scaffold. She was proclaimed queen in London; but Mary's interest and her lawful rights, as being daughter of Henry VIII. and Catherine of Aragon, prevailed; and the first thing which this queen did after signing her contract of marriage with Philip II. was to condemn to death her rival, who was a young lady of seventeen, full of beauty and innocence, and who had been guilty of no crime but that of being named in Edward's will for his successor. It availed her not that she made a voluntary resignation of her fatal dignity, which she held but nine days: she was led to execution with her husband, father, and father-in-law. This was the third queen of England who had mounted the scaffold within less than twenty years. The Protestant religion, in which she had been educated, was the principal cause of her untimely fate. In this revolution the arm of the executioner was much more employed than that of the soldiery; and all these cruelties were committed by act of parliament. Every nation has had its times of horror and bloodshed; but more illustrious lives have been lost upon the scaffold in England than in all the rest of

Europe combined. It has been the character of this nation to commit murders by form of law; and the gates of London have been loaded with human skulls, like the walls of the temple of Mexico.

CHAPTER CXL.

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

ELIZABETH was confined in prison by her sister upon her accession to the throne. This princess, who, after she came to be queen, refused the hand of Philip II., now wanted to espouse Courtney, earl of Devonshire; and it appears by letters of hers yet remaining that she had a strong inclination for this nobleman. A match of this kind would not have been at all extraordinary; we have seen that Lady Jane Grey, though declared heiress to the crown, had married Lord Guilford. Mary, queen dowager of France, descended from the bed of Louis XII. to that of Charles Brandon. All the royal family of England sprang from a private gentleman, named Tudor, who had married the daughter of Henry V., daughter of Charles VI., king of France; and in France, before its kings had attained their height of power, the widow of Louis the Fat made no difficulty of espousing Matthew de Montmorency.

Elizabeth, while a prisoner, and under a state of continual persecution from her sister Mary, employed these moments of her disgrace to the noblest purposes; she improved her mind, she

learned the languages and sciences; but of all the arts in which she excelled, the chief was that of dissimulation, by which she kept fair with her sister, with the Catholics, and with the Protestants, and learned how to reign.

No sooner was she proclaimed queen, than she found herself strongly solicited in marriage by her brother-in-law, Philip II. Had she listened to his proposals, France and Holland would have been in danger of being overwhelmed; but she detested both the religion and person of Philip, and resolved to indulge the vanity of being beloved, and the happiness of being independent. Having been imprisoned by a Catholic sister, her first thoughts, upon mounting the throne, were to restore the Protestant religion in her kingdom. However, she permitted a Catholic bishop to perform the ceremony of her coronation, that she might not sour the minds of the people at first. I shall here observe, that she went from Westminster to the Tower of London in an open chariot, followed by a hundred others — not that coaches were at that time in use; it was only an occasional piece of state.

Immediately after her coronation she convoked a parliament, which settled the religion of England such as it now is, and vested the supremacy, first-fruits, and tenths, in the sovereign.

Elizabeth then had the title of supreme head of the Church of England. Several writers, especially the Italians, have thought this a ridiculous dignity

in a woman; but they might have considered that this woman reigned; that she was in possession of the rights annexed to the crown by the laws of the country; that in former times the sovereigns of all the known nations in the world had the superintendence in religious matters; that the Roman emperors were sovereign pontiffs; that although at present there are several countries where the State is governed by the Church, there are others where the Church is governed by the State; and lastly, that it is not more ridiculous for a queen of England to have the nomination of an archbishop of Canterbury, the primate of the whole kingdom, and to prescribe laws to him, than for an abbess of Fontevrault to nominate priors and curates, and give them her benediction; in a word, that every country has its customs.

The Church of England retained whatever was most solemn and august in the Romish ceremonies, and most austere in the Lutheran discipline. I shall observe, that out of nine thousand four hundred beneficed clergy, who were at that time in England, there were but fourteen bishops, fifty canons, and eighty curates, who lost their livings for remaining Catholics, and refusing to subscribe to the reformation. When we reflect that the English nation had changed its religion four several times since the reign of Henry VIII., we are surprised that a people who enjoy so great liberty, should ever have been subdued, or that, possessed of so much resolution,

they should ever have been so fickle. The English in this resemble those Swiss cantons, who waited for their magistrates to determine what should be their creed. An act of parliament is everything with the English; they love the laws, and there is no governing them except by laws made by a parliament which pronounces, or seems to pronounce, by its own authority.

No one was persecuted for being a Roman Catholic; but those who went about to disturb the peace of the kingdom, through a principle of conscience, were severely punished. The Guises, who at that time made a handle of religion to establish their own power in France, made use of the same methods to set their niece, Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, on the English throne. Masters of the finances and armies of France, they sent money and troops over to Scotland, under pretence of assisting the Catholics of that kingdom against the Protestants. Mary Stuart, who was married to Francis II., king of France, openly took upon her the title of queen of England, as being descended from Henry VIII. All the English, Scotch, and Irish Catholics were in her interest. Elizabeth was not yet so firmly settled on the throne, but that religious cabals might have shaken her authority. However, she dispersed this first storm; in 1560, sent an army to the relief of the Scotch Protestants, and obliged the queen regent of Scotland, Mary's mother, to consent by treaty to

obey laws of her dictating, and to send the French troops home within twenty days.

Francis II. dying, she obliged Mary Stuart to drop the title of queen of England. By her intrigues she prevailed upon the Parliament of Edinburgh to establish the reformed religion in Scotland; and by this artful management she brought into her interest a country from which she had everything to fear.

Scarcely was she freed from these inquietudes, when she received fresh alarms of a more dangerous kind from Philip II. This monarch was her friend, so long as Mary Stuart, as heiress to Elizabeth, had a prospect of uniting in her own person the crowns of France, England, and Scotland; but Francis II. being now dead, and his widow returned helpless to Scotland, Philip had only the Protestants to fear, and therefore became an implacable enemy to Elizabeth.

He now privately raised commotions in Ireland, which Elizabeth as quickly suppressed. He protected the Catholic League in France, which proved so fatal to the royal family, and she assisted the opposite party. The republic of Holland found itself hard pressed by Philip's forces, and Elizabeth saved it from ruin. Formerly the kings of England were wont to drain their country of men to settle themselves on the throne of France; but interests and times were now so changed that the queen of England sent repeated relief to Henry IV. to assist him in conquering his patrimony. With this aid Henry

at length laid siege to Paris; and had it not been for the duke of Parma, or the king's extreme indulgence to the besieged, he would have fixed the Protestant religion in the kingdom. This is what Elizabeth had greatly at heart. It was natural for her to wish to see her endeavors succeed, and not to lose all the fruits of the great expense she had been at. Besides, she had conceived a mortal aversion to the Catholic religion ever since she had been excommunicated by the two popes, Pius V. and Sixtus V., who had declared her unworthy and incapable to govern; and the more Philip II. declared himself the protector of this religion, the more she became its implacable enemy.

No Protestant divine could have been more afflicted than Elizabeth when she heard that Henry IV. had renounced the reformed doctrines. Her letter to that prince is very remarkable: "You offer me your friendship, as to your sister. I am certain I have deserved it, having paid dearly for it; but of this I should not repent, had you not changed your father. I can no longer be your sister by the father's side, for I shall always have a greater affection for my own father than for him who has adopted you." This letter serves at once to show her heart, her understanding, and her forcible manner of expressing herself in a foreign language.

Notwithstanding this hatred to the Roman Catholic religion, it is certain that she did not deal cruelly with the Catholics of her kingdom, as Mary had

done during her reign with the Protestants. It is true, that the two Jesuits, Creighton and Campian, with some others, were hanged, at the same time that the duke of Anjou, brother of Henry III., was preparing everything in London for his marriage with the queen, which at length proved abortive; but these Jesuits were unanimously convicted of conspiracy and sedition, of which they were accused; and sentence was given against them upon the testimony of witnesses. They might have fallen innocent victims, but then the queen was likewise innocent of their death, as she acted only by the laws.

Several persons in France still imagine that Elizabeth put the earl of Essex to death merely from a fit of jealousy; and found their belief on a tragedy and a novel. But those who have read anything, know that the queen was at that time seventy-eight years of age, and that the earl of Essex, finding the queen grown old, and hoping that her authority would decline with her years, had been guilty of an act of open rebellion, for which he was afterward tried by his peers, who passed sentence of death upon him and his accomplices.

The more exact administration of justice during Elizabeth's reign than under that of any of her predecessors proved one of the firmest supports of her government. The revenues of the state were employed only in its defence.

She had favorites, but she enriched none of them

at the expense of the nation. Her people were her chief favorites; not that she really loved them, for who can love the people? But she was sensible that her glory and safety depended solely upon behaving toward them as if she did love them.

Elizabeth would have enjoyed an unblemished fame had she not sullied a reign, in other respects so glorious, by the murder of her rival, Mary Stuart, a murder which she ventured to perpetrate with the sacred sword of justice.

CHAPTER CXLI.

MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

It is a difficult matter to come at the whole truth in disputes between private people, and how much more so in those of crowned heads, where so many secret springs are employed, and where both parties equally make use of truth and falsehood, as best suits their purpose. Contemporary writers are in these cases generally suspected of partiality, and are for the most part rather advocates on one side, than the faithful depositaries of history. I must then confine myself to authenticated facts only, amidst the perplexed accounts given of this important and fatal event.

Mary and Elizabeth were rivals in all respects: they were rivals in nations, in crowns, in religion, in understanding, and in beauty. Mary was far less powerful, and not so much mistress of herself as

Elizabeth, nor had she her unshaken resolution and depth of politics; in a word, she was superior to her only in the charms of her person, which contributed not a little to her subsequent misfortunes. Mary, Queen of Scots, encouraged the Catholic faction in England, and the queen of England still more powerfully supported the Protestant party in Scotland. Elizabeth gained so much the ascendency by her intrigues that for a long time she prevented Mary from concluding second nuptials where she had an inclination.

However, Mary, in spite of the cabals of her rival, and of the Scottish parliament, which was wholly made up of Protestants, and headed by her brother, the earl of Murray, married Henry Stuart, earl of Darnley, who was her cousin, and a Catholic like herself. Elizabeth upon this tampered in private with Mary's principal Protestant subjects, and excited them to take up arms. Mary pursued the rebels in person, and obliged them to retreat into England. Thus far everything seemed to favor her and confound her rival.

Mary had a soft and tender heart; this was the beginning of all her misfortunes. An Italian musician, named David Rizzio, had insinuated himself too far into her good graces. He played well upon several instruments, and had a very agreeable bass voice. A proof that the Italians were at that time in possession of the empire of music, and exercised their profession with a kind of exclusive right in all

courts, is that Mary's whole band was Italian. Another proof that foreign courts make an indiscriminate use of anyone who is in credit, is, that this Rizzio was a pensioner to the pope. He was greatly instrumental in the queen's marriage with Lord Darnley, and not less so in that dislike she afterward took to him. Darnley, who had only the name of king, and saw himself despised by his wife, grew incensed and jealous; and one evening when he knew the queen was in her apartment, he took with him a few armed men, and going up a pair of private stairs, entered her chamber, where she was at supper with Rizzio and one of the ladies of her court. They overturned the table, and slew Rizzio before the queen's eyes, who in vain attempted to cover his body with her own. Mary was at that time five months gone with child: the sight of the naked and bloody weapons made so strong an impression on her, that it was communicated to the infant in her womb. This was James VI., afterward king of England and Scotland, who was born four months after this melancholy affair, and who all his lifetime trembled at the sight of a drawn sword, in spite of his utmost endeavors to overcome this disposition of his organs. So great is the force of nature, and so powerfully does she act by ways impenetrable to us!

The queen soon resumed her authority, was reconciled to the earl of Murray, prosecuted the murderers of Rizzio, and entered into a fresh engage-

ment with the earl of Bothwell. These new amours produced the death of her husband. It is said an attempt was made to poison him, but that the strength of his constitution got the better of the drugs they had given him; however, it is certain that he was murdered in Edinburgh, in a lone house, from which the queen had previously removed most of her valuable effects. As soon as the murder was committed, the house was blown up with gunpowder, and the body was deposited near that of David Rizzio, in the vault belonging to the royal family. The parliament and the whole nation openly charged Bothwell with this murder; and, in the midst of the general cry for justice, Mary contrived to have herself carried off by this assassin, whose hands were yet stained with her husband's blood, and was afterward publicly married to him. What was most extraordinary in this horrid adventure was that Bothwell had at that time a wife; and, in order to bring about a separation, he obliged her to accuse him of adultery, and made the archbishop of St. Andrew's pronounce sentence of divorce between them, agreeable to the custom of the country.

Bothwell was possessed of all that insolence which attends great wickedness. He assembled the principal noblemen of the kingdom, and made them sign a writing, by which it was declared, in express terms, that the queen could not dispense with marrying him, as he had carried her away, and had lain

with her. All these facts are authenticated: the letters which Mary is said to have written to Bothwell have indeed been disputed, but they carry such strong marks of truth that there is hardly any doubting their reality. These complicated villainies effectually roused the Scots; Mary was abandoned by her army, and obliged to yield herself prisoner to the confederates. Bothwell fled into the Orkneys; the queen was compelled to resign the crown to her son, but was allowed to appoint a regent during his minority. She named her brother, the earl of Murray: this nobleman, however, reproached her in the bitterest manner with her past conduct. At length she escaped from her confinement; Murray's harsh and severe temper had procured her a new party. In 1568 she found means to raise six thousand men, but she was soon defeated and obliged to take shelter on the English borders. Elizabeth at first gave her an honorable reception at Carlisle, but privately intimated to her that, as she was accused by the public voice of the murder of her husband, it behooved her to vindicate herself, and that she might depend upon her protection, if she should be found innocent.

Elizabeth now made herself arbiter between Mary and the Scottish regency. The regent came in person to Hampton court, and consented to deposit the papers containing the proofs against his sister, in the hands of commissioners to be appointed by the queen of England. The unfortunate Mary, on the other

hand, who was still detained prisoner in Carlisle, accused the earl of Murray himself as author of that murder which he had laid to her charge; and excepted to the English commissioners, unless the ambassadors of France and Spain were joined with them. Nevertheless, Elizabeth still caused this unaccountable trial to be carried on, and indulged herself in the cruel pleasure of seeing her rival pine away in confinement, without coming to any determination concerning her fate. She was not Mary's judge, she owed her an asylum, but she caused her to be removed to Tewkesbury, where she was little better than a prisoner.

These disasters of the royal house of Scotland were reflected upon the nation, which was rent by factions that arose from anarchy. The earl of Murray was murdered by one of these factions, which sheltered itself under the authority of Mary's name. After this murder, the insurgents entered England, and laid waste the borders with fire and sword.

In 1570 Elizabeth sent an army to chastise these disturbers of the peace, and keep Scotland in awe. She likewise had the regency of that kingdom given to the earl of Lenox, brother of the murdered king. Thus far she acted according to the rules of justice and true greatness. At the same time a conspiracy was formed in England for delivering Mary from her confinement, and Pope Pius V. very indiscreetly caused a bull to be published in London, by which he excommunicated Elizabeth, and released her sub-

jects from their oath of allegiance. This step, which was intended to deliver Mary, only hastened her downfall. The two queens entered into mutual negotiations; the one from her throne, and the other from a prison. Mary does not seem to have behaved with that flexibility which the situation of her affairs required. Scotland at this time was weltering in blood; the Catholics and Protestants had raised a civil war in the kingdom. The French ambassador and the archbishop of St. Andrew's were made prisoners, the latter of whom was hanged upon the evidence of his own confessor, who swore that this prelate had accused himself to him of being an accomplice in the murder of the late king.

It was Mary's greatest misfortune to have a number of friends in her disgrace. The duke of Norfolk, who was a Catholic, wanted to marry her in hope of a revolution, and reckoning on Mary's right of succession to Elizabeth. Several parties were formed in her favor in London, which were weak indeed, but were capable of being strengthened by forces from Spain, and the intrigues of the court of Rome. These machinations, however, cost the duke of Norfolk his head, in 1572. He was sentenced to die by his peers for having solicited aid from the pope and the king of Spain, in Mary's behalf. The duke of Norfolk's death rivetted this unhappy princess's chains; her long misfortunes had not yet discouraged those of her party in London, who were

strongly supported by the princess of Guise, the pope, the Jesuits, and the court of Spain.

The great point in view was to set Mary at liberty, and place her on the English throne, and with her restore the Catholic religion. A conspiracy was formed against Elizabeth. Philip had already begun to prepare for his invasion. The queen of England caused fourteen of the conspirators to be put to death, and brought Mary, who was her equal, to a public trial, as if she had been her subject. Forty-two members of parliament and five of the judges were sent to examine her in Fotheringay castle; she protested against their proceedings, and refused to make any reply. Never was trial so irregularly carried on, nor sentence so cruelly passed; she was presented only with copies of her letters, and no originals. They made use of the depositions of her secretaries, without confronting them with her; they pretended to convict her upon the evidence of three conspirators, who had been executed, though their sentence should have been deferred till they had been examined in Mary's presence. In a word, though they had even proceeded with all the forms which justice requires for the lowest of the people, had they proved that Mary solicited for aid and revenge wherever she had a prospect of succeeding, they could not with equity have pronounced her criminal. Elizabeth had no other jurisdiction over her than that of the strong over the weak and unfortunate.

At length, after eighteen years' imprisonment, in a country which she had imprudently chosen for an asylum, Mary was beheaded, on Feb. 28, 1587, in an apartment of the prison hung with black. Elizabeth was sensible that she had committed a base act, but she added to the odium of it by attempting to impose upon the public — who were not, however, to be so deceived — with an affectation of sorrow for a person whom she had put to death, by pretending that her ministers had exceeded her orders, and by imprisoning the secretary of state, who, she said, had been too precipitate in executing a warrant signed by herself. Europe detested her cruelty and dissimulation. Her reign was esteemed, but her character was held in abhorrence. But what renders her still more condemnable is her not having been forced to this barbarity. It may even be said, that in Mary's person she had a security against the attempts of her adherents.

Though this action be an indelible stain upon the memory of Elizabeth, it is a fanatical weakness to canonize Mary Stuart as a martyr to religion; she was only a martyr to adultery, to the murder of her husband, and to her own imprudence. In her failings and misfortunes she perfectly resembled Joan of Naples; they were both handsome and sprightly, both, through the frailty of their sex, drawn to commit an atrocious deed, and both put to death by their relatives. History frequently presents us with a repetition of the same misfortunes,

the same flagitious deeds, and one crime punished by another.

CHAPTER CXLII.

FRANCE, TOWARD THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, UNDER FRANCIS II.

While all Europe was alarmed at the excessive power of Spain, and England made the second figure by opposing that monarchy, France had grown weak, divided into factions, and in danger of being dismembered, so that it was far from having any influence or credit in Europe. The civil wars of this kingdom had reduced it to a state of dependence on all its neighbors. Those times of fury, abjectness, and misery have furnished more matter for history than is contained in all the Roman annals. And what were the causes of all those misfortunes? Religion, ambition, the want of good laws, and a maladministration.

Henry II., by his severity against the sectaries, and especially by the condemnation of the counsellor of parliament, Anne du Bourg, who was executed after the king's death by order of the Guises, made more Calvinists in France than there were in all Switzerland and Geneva. Had these people made their appearance in a time like that of Louis XII., when the court of France was at war with the papal see, they might possibly have met with some indulgence; but they appeared precisely at the time when

Henry II. stood in need of Pope Paul IV., to assist him in disputing possession of Naples and Sicily with Spain, and while these two powers were in alliance with the Turk against the house of Austria. It was therefore thought necessary to sacrifice them. The clergy, who were powerful at court, and were in fear of losing their temporalities and authority, persecuted them; and policy, interest, and zeal, concurred in their ruin. The state might have tolerated them, as Elizabeth tolerated the Catholics in England, and have preserved a number of good subjects by allowing them liberty of conscience. It would have been of little concern to the government in what manner they performed their devotion, provided they submitted themselves to the established laws: whereas, by persecuting them, they made them rebels.

The untimely fate of Henry II. was the signal of thirty years of civil wars. An infant king governed by foreigners, and the jealousy of the princes of the blood and high officers of the crown against the family of Guise, on account of their great credit in the kingdom, began the subversion of France.

The famous conspiracy of Amboise was the first of the kind we hear of in this country. To form leagues, and then break them, to pass hastily from one extreme to another, to be violent in their passions and sudden in their repentance, seemed hitherto to have formed the character of the Gauls, who,

when they took the name of Franks, and afterward of French, did not change their manners. But in this conspiracy there was a degree of boldness which equalled that of Catiline, with an artful management, a depth of contrivance, and a profound secrecy like that of the Sicilian Vespers, or the Pazzi of Florence. Louis, prince of Condé, was the soul that secretly animated this plot, but in so artful a manner, that though all France was convinced that he was at the head of it, no one could positively convict him of being so.

It was peculiar to this conspiracy, that it was in one sense excusable, as being undertaken to wrest the government out of the hands of Francis, duke of Guise, and his brother, the cardinal of Lorraine, who were both foreigners, and held the king in subjection, the nation in slavery, and the princes of the blood and officers of the crown at a distance; and in another highly criminal, as it attacked the rights of a king who was at age, and empowered by the laws to choose the depositaries of his authority.

It has never been proved that there was any design of killing the Guises; but as they would doubtless have made a resistance, their deaths were inevitable. Five hundred gentlemen, all well seconded, and a thousand resolute soldiers, headed by thirty chosen captains, were all to assemble from the several provinces of the kingdom on an appointed day at Amboise, where the court then kept its residence. Kings were not in those times sur-

rounded by so numerous a guard as they are at present. The regiment of guards was not formed till the reign of Charles IX. Two hundred archers were the most that attended Francis II., the other kings of Europe had no more. When the constable of Montmorency came to Orleans, where the Guises had placed a new guard about the court upon the death of Francis II. he dismissed the newly raised soldiers, and threatened to have them all hanged as enemies to the state, who planted a barrier between the king and his people.

The simplicity of the ancient times still continued in the palaces of our kings, but they were by this means more exposed to resolute attempts. It was an easy matter to seize the royal family, the ministers, and even the king himself: there was almost a certainty of success. The secret was kept inviolable by all the conspirators for nearly six months; at length it was disçovered by the indiscretion of one of the chiefs, named de la Renaudie, who divulged it in confidence to a lawyer of Paris, who exposed the whole plot, which, nevertheless, was carried into execution. In 1560 the conspirators met at the place appointed as if nothing had happened; religious enthusiasm furnished them with a desperate obstinacy. These gentlemen were for the most part Calvinists, who made a duty of avenging their persecuted brethren. Louis, prince of Condé, had openly embraced the new doctrine, because the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine were Cath-

olics. This attempt was set on foot to bring about a revolution in Church and State.

The Guises had hardly time to get together a body of troops. There were not fifteen thousand men enrolled in all the kingdom: but they soon mustered a sufficient number to exterminate the conspirators, who, as they arrived in detached parties, were easily defeated. De la Renaudie was killed fighting, and many others died like him, with their arms in their hands. Those who were taken died by the hands of executioners, and, for a whole month nothing was to be seen in Paris but bloody scaffolds, and gibbets loaded with dead bodies.

The conspiracy thus discovered, and the authors of it punished, only served to increase the power it was meant to overthrow. Francis de Guise was invested with the authority of the ancient mayors of the palace, under the title of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. But this very authority, and the restless ambition of his brother, the cardinal, who endeavored to introduce the Inquisition into France, stirred up all ranks in the kingdom against them, and proved the sources of fresh troubles.

The Calvinists, who were still privately encouraged by the prince of Condé, took up arms in several provinces. The power of the Guises must certainly have been very formidable, seeing that neither Condé nor his brother, Anthony, king of Navarre, father of Henry IV., nor the famous admiral Coligny, nor his brother d'Andelot, colonel-general of

the infantry, dared to declare themselves openly. The prince of Condé was the first head of a party that ever seemed to wage civil war with fear and apprehension; he seemed ready to strike a blow, and would afterward draw back again; and, imagining that he could always keep fair with a court that he meant to destroy, he was so imprudent as to go to Fontainebleau in the character of a courtier, when he should have been in that of a general at the head of his party. The Guises caused him to be arrested at Orleans, and arraigned before the privy council and commissioners chosen out of the parliament, notwithstanding his privilege as a prince of the blood exempted him from being tried by any but the court of peers, and the parliament assembled. But what avails privilege against superior strength; or what indeed was privilege of which there had been no precedent but in the violation of it, in the case of the criminal process formerly issued against the duke d'Alençon?

The prince of Condé then was condemned to be beheaded. The famous chancellor de L'Hôpital, a noble legislator, at a time when good laws were most wanted, and an intrepid philosopher, in an age of enthusiasm and fury, refused to sign the sentence. This example of undaunted courage was followed by the count de Sancerre, one of the privy council. Nevertheless the decree was going to be published, and the prince of Condé was on the point of falling by the hand of the executioner,

when suddenly the young king, Francis II., who had been ill for a long time, and was infirm from his cradle, died at the age of seventeen, leaving his brother Charles, who was then only ten, an exhausted kingdom, rent in pieces by factions.

The death of Francis proved the deliverance of Condé; he was presently released from his confinement, after a feigned reconciliation had been effected between him and the Guises, which was no more than the seal of revenge and hatred, as indeed what else could it be. The estates were now assembled at Orleans, without whom nothing could be done in such a situation of affairs. These estates conferred the guardianship of the young king, Charles IX., and the government of the kingdom on Catherine de Medici, but not under the name of regent; they did not even give her the title of majesty, which had but very lately been assumed by kings. There are several letters from Sieur de Bourdeilles to Henry III., in which he styles that prince "Your highness."

CHAPTER CXLIII.

FRANCE DURING THE MINORITY OF CHARLES IX. AND THE REIGN OF HENRY III.

During every royal minority, the ancient constitution of a kingdom always recovers some part of its vigor, at least for a time, like a family assembled together upon the death of the father. A general

assembly of the states was held at Orleans, and afterward at Pontoise: these estates deserve to have their memories preserved, for the perpetual separation they made between the sword and the long robe. This distinction was unknown in the Roman Empire, even to the time of Constantine; their magistrates understood how to conduct armies, and their generals could decide causes. The sword and the law were, in like manner, lodged in the same hands in almost all the nations of Europe, till toward the beginning of the fourteenth century. Little by little these two professions were separated in Spain and France; though not absolutely so in the latter, notwithstanding the parliaments were composed only of the gentlemen of the long robe. The jurisdiction of the bailiffs, who were swordsmen, still continued the same as it was in several of the provinces of Germany, and on the frontiers of that empire. The estates of Orleans, convinced that the swordsmen could not confine themselves to the study of the law, took from them the administration of justice, and conferred it on the gownsmen, who were before only their lieutenants, or deputies. Thus they, who from their original institution had always been judges, ceased to be so any longer.

The famous chancellor de L'Hôpital had the principal share in bringing about this change, which was effected at the time of the nation's greatest weakness, and has since contributed to strengthen

the hands of the sovereigns, by dividing forever two professions which might, if united, have formed a powerful counterpoise to the authority of the ministry. Some have thought since, that the nobles could not preserve the charge of the laws intrusted to them; but they should reflect that the English house of lords, which is composed of the only nobles properly so called in that kingdom, is a fixed body of magistracy, who make the laws and administer justice. When we see these great changes in the constitution of a state, and observe other neighboring governments who have not undergone these changes in the same circumstances, we may evidently conclude that the manners and genius of these people must have been different from those of the former.

At this assembly of the general estates, it appeared how very faulty the administration had been. The king was indebted for over forty millions of livres; money was wanted, and there was none to be had; this was the true cause of the troubles of France. Had Catherine de Medici had wherewithal to purchase good servants, and pay an army, the different factions which distracted the state might have been easily kept under by the royal authority. The queen-mother found herself placed between the Catholics and the Protestants, the Condés and the Guises. Constable de Montmorency was at the head of a separate faction. Division reigned in the court, the city, and the provinces.

Catherine could only negotiate, instead of reigning. Her maxim of dividing all parties, that she might be sole mistress, increased the troubles and misfortunes of the state. She began by appointing a conference to be held between the Catholics and the Protestants at Poissy, which was subjecting the old religion to arbitration, and giving a great degree of credit to the Calvinist party, by setting them up as disputants against those who thought themselves rather entitled to be their judges.

At this time, when Theodore Beza and other Protestant divines came to Poissy, in order to maintain their doctrines in a public manner before the queen and a court who as publicly sang Marot's psalms, Cardinal Ferrara arrived in France as legate from Pope Paul IV., but being a grandson of Alexander VI., by the mother's side, he was more despised on account of his birth, than respected for his place and merit; insomuch, that his cross-bearer was insulted even by the lackeys of the court. Prints of his grandfather were fixed up in the public places through which he was to pass, with an account of the wicked and scandalous actions of his life. The legate brought with him one Lainez, general of the order of Jesuits, who did not understand a word of French, and disputed at the conference in Italian, which tongue Catherine de Medici had made familiar to the court, and it began to have a considerable influence on the French language itself. This Jesuit had the boldness to tell the queen at the conference,

that she had no right to call this assembly, and that in so doing she had usurped the pope's authority. Nevertheless, he disputed in this assembly which he found fault with, and said, in speaking of the eucharist, that God was in place of the bread and wine, like a king who makes himself his own ambassador. This childish comparison excited a smile of contempt, as his insolent behavior to the queen did the general indignation. Trifling things sometimes occasion great mischiefs; and in the situation of minds at that time, everything helped the cause of the new religion.

The consequence of this conference, and of the intrigues that followed it, was the issuing of an edict, in January, 1562, permitting the Protestants to have preaching places without the city, and this edict of pacification proved the source of the civil wars. The duke of Guise, though removed from his post of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, still wanted to be its master: he was already connected with Philip II., and was looked upon by the people as the protector of the Catholic religion. The grandees in those times never travelled without a numerous retinue; and not as they do now, in a post-chaise with two or three footmen only; they were always attended by a hundred horsemen: this was all their magnificence, for three or four of them lay in one bed; and when they were in waiting at court, they had only a sorry apartment to live in, without any other furniture than a few chests. The

duke of Guise, as he was going through Vassy, a town on the borders of Champagne, came upon some Calvinists, who, in consequence of the privilege granted them by the edict, were singing psalms after their manner, in a barn. His servants fell upon and insulted these poor people, killed about sixty of them, and wounded and dispersed the rest. Upon this there was a general rising of the Protestants in almost every part of the kingdom, and the nation became divided between the prince of Condé and the duke of Guise. Catherine de Medici fluctuated between both; nothing was seen on all sides but killing and plundering. The queen was then at Paris with the king, her son, where, finding herself deprived of all authority, she wrote to the prince of Condé to come to her deliverance. This fatal letter was an order for continuing the civil war, which was prosecuted with the greatest inhumanity. Every town was a fortified post, and every street a field of battle.

On one side were the duke of Guise and his brother, united by convenience with the faction of Constable de Montmorency, who was master of the king's person: on the other, the prince of Condé, joined by the Coligny party. Anthony, king of Navarre, the first prince of the blood, a weak and irresolute man, who knew not of what religion or party he was; jealous of his brother Condé, and obliged to serve against his will the duke of Guise, whom he detested, was dragged to the siege of

Rouen, together with the queen-mother, Catherine de Medici; he was killed at this siege, and deserves a place in history on no other account than that of being father of the great Henry IV.

The war, which continued without interruption till the peace of Vervins, was carried on after much the same manner as in the times of anarchy, at the decline of the second race, and the beginning of the third. There were few regular troops on either side, excepting some companies of men at arms, belonging to the principal chiefs. Plunder was their only pay; and all that the Protestant faction could scrape together they employed in bringing over German troops to complete the destruction of the kingdom. The king of Spain on his side sent some few soldiers to the Catholics, in order to feed a flame which he hoped to turn to his own advantage, and thirteen Spanish companies marched to the relief of Montlu in Saintonge. These were, without contradiction, the most fatal times that the French monarchy had ever experienced.

The first pitched battle between the Catholics and the Reformed was fought near Dreux in 1562, wherein not only Frenchman engaged against Frenchman, but the royal infantry was chiefly composed of Swiss, as the Protestant army was of Germans. This battle was remarkable by both generals being made prisoners; Montmorency, who commanded the king's army in quality of constable, and the prince of Condé, who was at the head

of the reformed army. The duke of Guise, who was second in command to the constable, gained the battle, and Condé's lieutenant, Coligny, saved his army. The duke of Guise was then at the height of his glory; always victorious wherever he came, and always repairing the errors made by the constable, his rival in authority, but not in fame. He was the idol of the Catholics, and master of the court; he was affable, generous, and in every sense the first man in the kingdom.

In 1563, after his victory at Dreux, he laid siege to Orleans. This city was the centre of the Protestant faction, and he was on the point of reducing it when he was assassinated. The murder of this great man was the first which fanaticism had caused to be committed. These very Huguenots, who, under Francis I. and Henry II., thought of nothing but worshipping God and suffering what they called martyrdom, were now the most furious enthusiasts, and studied the Scriptures only to find out examples of assassinations. Poltrot de Meré imagined himself another Aod, sent from God to kill a Philistine chief. This is so true that his party made verses in his praise; and I myself have seen a print of him with an inscription extolling his crime to the skies. And yet his crime was that of a coward, for he pretended to be a deserter from the reformed party, and watched an opportunity to stab the duke of Guise in the back. He had the impudence to charge Admiral de Coligny and Theodore de Beza with hav-

ing at least connived at his design; but he varied so much in his depositions that he destroyed his own imposture. Coligny even offered to go to Paris to be confronted with this miscreant, and requested the queen to suspend the execution till the truth could be cleared up. It must be acknowledged that the admiral, though the leader of a faction, had never been guilty of the least action that could warrant a suspicion of such black treachery.

It was not sufficient that the Spaniards, Germans, and Swiss were called in to help the French destroy each other; the English were also sent for to join in the general ruin. Three thousand of them had been introduced by the Huguenots into Havre-de-Grâce, a seaport town built by Francis I., but Constable de Montmorency, who had been exchanged for the prince of Condé, after great difficulty drove them out again. These troubles were now succeeded by a momentary peace; Condé was reconciled to the court, but his brother, the admiral, still continued at the head of a powerful party in the provinces.

In the meantime Charles IX., having attained the age of thirteen years and one day, held his court of justice, not in the Parliament of Paris, but in that of Rouen; and it is remarkable that his mother, when she resigned her commission of regent, kneeled to him.

There was a scene on this occasion which is entirely without example: Odet de Châtillon, car-

dinal bishop of Beauvais, had, like his brother, changed to the reformed religion, and had taken a wife. The pope struck him out of the list of cardinals, and he himself expressed a contempt for the title; but, in order to brave the pope, he assisted at the ceremony in his cardinal's habit; his wife was allowed to be seated in presence of the king and queen, as the wife of a peer of the realm; and was sometimes called "the countess of Beauvais," and sometimes "the cardinal's lady."

France was full of absurdities equally great. The confusion of the civil wars had destroyed all kind of government and decency. The church livings were almost all in the possession of laymen; an abbey or a bishopric was given as a marriage portion with a daughter: but these irregularities, now grown customary, were all forgotten in the bosom of peace, the greatest of all blessings. The Huguenots, who were allowed the exercise of their religion, though they were still upon their guard, remained quiet; and the prince of Condé joined in the diversions of the court. But this calm was of short duration; the Huguenot party insisted on too many sureties, and the government granted them too few. The prince of Condé wanted a share in the administration; the cardinal of Lorraine, chief of a powerful and numerous house, aimed at holding the first post in the state; Constable de Montmorency, who was an enemy to this family, retained his power, and shared in the authority of the court;

the Coligny and other Huguenot chiefs prepared to oppose the house of Lorraine. Everyone strove to have a share in dismembering the state; the Catholic clergy on one side, and the Protestant ministers on the other, set up the cry of religion. God was their pretence; a thirst for rule, their God; and the people, intoxicated with fanaticism, were at once the instruments and the victims of the ambition of all these opposite factions.

The prince of Condé, who had attempted to rescue young Francis II. from the hands of the Guises at Amboise, now endeavored to get Charles IX. into his own power, and take the city of Meaux from Constable de Montmorency. This Louis of Condé made exactly the same war, with the same stratagems and on the same pretences — religion excepted — which his namesake, Louis the Great, prince of Condé, did afterward during the disputes of the League. On Nov. 10, 1567, the prince and the admiral fought the battle of St. Denis against the constable, who was mortally wounded, in the eightieth year of his age. He was a man equally intrepid at court and in the field, possessed of great virtues and great faults, unfortunate as a general, in disposition morose, capricious, and obstinate; but an honest man, and one of a noble way of thinking. It was he who said to his confessor: "Do you think that I have lived fourscore years to be at a loss to know how to die for one quarter of an hour?" His effigy in wax was carried, like those of

the kings of France, to the church of Notre Dame, and the members of the supreme courts attended his obsequies by order of the court; an honor which depends, as almost everything of this kind does, on the will of the prince and the circumstances of the times.

This battle of St. Denis was indecisive, and the kingdom was only rendered more miserable by it. Admiral de Coligny, who was the most fruitful in resources of any man in his age, sent into the Palatinate for nearly ten thousand Germans, though he had no money with which to pay them. It was now seen what religious zeal strengthened by party spirit is capable of doing. The admiral's army taxed itself to pay the Palatine forces. The whole kingdom was laid waste. It was no longer a war wherein one power assembles its forces against another, and gains the victory or is destroyed; there were as many different wars as there were towns; subject destroyed subject with the most bloody fury, and relative, relative. Neither the Catholic, the Protestant, the neutral, the priest, nor the mechanic went to bed in safety. The ground lay untilled, or was manured with sword in hand. A forced peace[1] was concluded in 1568; but every peace was only a smothered war, and every day was distinguished by murders and assassinations.

The war soon broke out again openly; and now

[1] It was concluded at Longjumeau, and called "the little peace," because it lasted only six months.

it was that Rochelle became the centre and principal seat of the reformed party, and the Geneva of France. This town is situated on the seacoast, is a flourishing republic, and was such at that time in some degree; for, after having been in possession of the kings of England ever since the marriage of Eleonora of Guienne with Henry II., it yielded obedience to Charles V. of France, on condition of being allowed to coin silver money in its own name, and that its mayors and sheriffs should be reputed noble. By these and several other privileges, together with an extensive trade, it had become tolerably powerful, and continued so till the time of Cardinal Richelieu. It was strongly supported by Queen Elizabeth; and its dominion at that time extended over Aunis, Saintonge, and Angoumois, where was fought the famous battle of Jarnac.

The duke of Anjou, afterward Henry III., who was at the head of the royal army with the title of general, though Marshal de Tavannes was so in reality, won a victory on March 13, 1569. Prince Louis of Condé was killed, or rather murdered after his defeat, by Montesquieu, captain of the guard to the duke of Anjou. Coligny, who was still called the admiral, though no longer in that post, rallied the remains of the conquered army and made the victory useless to the royalists. Joan d'Albret, queen of Navarre, widow of the weak king Anthony, presented her son to the army, by whom he was

acknowledged as head of their party; so that Henry IV., the best of all our French kings, was, as well as Louis XII., a rebel before he ascended the throne. Admiral Coligny was the real head, both of the Huguenot party and of the army, and was like a father to Henry IV. and the princes of the house of Condé. He alone was the support of this unhappy cause: though in want of money, he kept an army on foot, found means to procure a supply of troops from Germany, though unable to pay them for their service; and, when defeated again at the battle of Moncontour in Poitou, by the duke of Anjou's army in 1569, he still repaired the losses of his party.

They had no uniform manner of fighting in those times. The German and Swiss infantry made use only of long spears, the French most commonly of muskets and short halberds; the German cavalry made use of pistols, and the French fought only with the lance. The strongest armies seldom exceeded twenty thousand men, nor could they afford to maintain a greater number. The battle of Moncontour was followed by a thousand skirmishes in the different provinces.

At length, after numberless desolations, a new peace seemed to promise the kingdom a breathing time; but this peace only prepared the way for the fatal massacre of St. Bartholomew. This dreadful day had been meditated and planned for over two years. It is hardly possible to conceive how a

woman like Catherine de Medici, brought up in the midst of pleasures, and to whom the Huguenot party had given the least umbrage of any, could have been capable of forming so barbarous a resolution. It is still more surprising in a young king, not quite twenty years of age. The Guise faction had a great share in this horrid enterprise. Two Italians, the cardinal de Birague and the cardinal de Retz, were those who disposed the minds of the people for it. They gloried at that time in adopting Machiavelli's maxims, especially that which teaches that no crime should be committed by halves. The best political maxim would have been not to commit any crime; but the manners of men had taken a ferocious turn from the continued civil wars they were engaged in, in spite of those pleasures and amusements with which Catherine de Medici always entertained the court. This mixture of gallantry and ferocity, of pleasures and slaughter, forms the oddest picture in which the contradictions of humanity were ever exhibited. Charles IX., who was not at all the soldier, was yet of a bloodthirsty disposition; and though he indulged himself with mistresses, he had a cruel heart. He is the first king who ever conspired against his subjects. The plot was laid with as deep dissimulation as the action itself was horrible. One thing alone might have given some suspicion; which was, that one day while he was diverting himself with hunting rabbits in a warren, he said to his attendants: "Drive

them all out, that I may have the pleasure of killing them all." Accordingly, a gentleman of Coligny's party left Paris in haste, and told the admiral at taking his leave that he was going to fly the place, "because," said he, "they make too much of us."

It is but too well known to Europe [1] how Charles

[1] The queen of Navarre was decoyed to Paris by a proposal of marriage between her son, who was afterward Henry IV., and the princess Margaret, sister of Charles IX., the reigning king. The same pretence was used for alluring thither Henry, then prince of Béarn, and his uncle, the prince of Condé. Admiral Coligny was invited by Charles, with a promise of declaring him general in a war against Spain in the Low Countries, and Coligny was accompanied by other chiefs of the Huguenots, depending upon the peace which had been lately ratified. The queen of Navarre died suddenly, not without suspicion of poison. The admiral, going home to his own lodgings about eleven in the forenoon, and reading a petition which had been presented to him, was wounded by a shot from a window, fired by one Maurevel, hired for the purpose. The king visiting him in the afternoon, expressed the utmost concern for his disaster, and assured him he would take ample vengeance of the assassin and his abettors. This perfidious prince had, with his mother and council, already projected the scheme which was now put in execution on the eve of St. Bartholomew. The duke of Guise, who was at the head of this shocking enterprise, communicated the king's intention to President Charron, intendant of Paris, who ordered the captains of the different wards to arm the burghers privately: that at the alarm, which would be rung on the bell of the palace-clock, the citizens should place lights in their windows, then break into the houses of the Huguenots and put them all to the sword, without distinction. About midnight, the duke of Guise, accompanied by the duke d'Aumale, the grand prior of France,

IX. married his sister to Henry of Navarre in order to draw him into the snare, what oaths he made use of to gain his confidence, and with what cruelty he afterward executed those massacres which he had planned for two years before. Father Daniel says that Charles IX. was an excellent comedian, and played his part incomparably well. I shall not

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a number of officers, and three hundred choice soldiers, marched to the admiral's hotel, broke open the gates and entered the house. A colonel and two other desperadoes, going upstairs to the admiral's apartment, butchered him without question, and threw his body out of the window. All his domestics met with the same fate, while the trained bands acted the same tragedy in the Louvre, as well as within the city. Two thousand persons were massacred that night, and a great number perished next day. At the same time the Huguenots were sacrificed in like manner by orders from court at Meaux, Orleans, Troyes, Bourges, Angers, Toulouse, Rouen, and Lyons. The mangled body of the admiral was insulted by the populace, and hung upon the gibbet of Montfaucon. The young king of Navarre and his cousin, the prince of Condé, were closeted by the king, who told them that if they refused to embrace the Roman Catholic religion, they should not be alive in three days. The parliament being assembled, and informed by their sovereign of the steps he had taken, in consequence — as he said — of a conspiracy against the Catholics, the president, who was father of the celebrated historian, Thuanus, harangued in praise of the king's conduct; and the advocate-general proposed that the admiral and his accomplices might be proceeded against in form of law. Accordingly the murdered Coligny was tried, condemned, and hanged in effigy. In a word, this whole affair was one of the most infamous plans of perfidious cruelty that ever was executed, and leaves an indelible stain on the French nation.

repeat the circumstances attending this execrable tragedy, which are known to all the world, that one half of the nation butchered the other, with a dagger in one hand and a crucifix in the other, while the king himself fired from a window upon the unhappy wretches who were flying for their lives. I shall only note some few particulars; the principal is, if we believe the duke of Sully, Matthieu, and other historians, that Henry IV. had often told them that playing at dice with the dukes of Alençon and Guise some days before the massacre of St. Bartholomew, they saw, twice together, spots of blood upon the dice, upon which they quitted their game in the utmost consternation. Father Daniel, who has preserved this circumstance in his history, should have been well enough acquainted with physics to know that the black points, when making a given angle with the rays of the sun, will appear red; this is known to everyone who reads at all, and here was the whole of this surprising prodigy. There certainly was nothing miraculous in all this action, but that religious fury which made savage beasts of a people who have since been of so mild and airy a disposition.

Father Daniel also relates that when the dead body of Coligny was hanged upon the gibbet of Montfaucon, Charles IX. went to feed his eyes with this cruel spectacle, saying that the body of a dead enemy always smelled well. He should have added that this was an old speech of Vitellius, which has

been attributed to Charles IX. But what is most worthy of observation is, that Father Daniel would persuade us that these murders were not premeditated. Perhaps the time, place, and manner of the massacre, or the number of those to be proscribed might not have been concerted for two years before; but it is certain that the design of exterminating the party had been framed long before. The whole of Mézeray's account, who is a much better Frenchman than Father Daniel, and much superior as a historian in the last hundred years of the monarchy, will not permit us to doubt of it; besides, Daniel contradicts himself, when he praises Charles IX. for being so good a comedian, and acting his part so well.

The manners of men, and the spirit of a party disclose themselves in the way of writing history. Daniel contents himself with saying that at Rome they praised the king for his zeal, and the dreadful punishment he inflicted on the heretics. Baronius says that this action was necessary. The court gave orders for the same massacre in all the provinces of Paris; but several of the commandants of those provinces, as St. Herem in Auvergne, la Guiche at Maçon, the viscount of Orme at Bayonne, and several others, refused to obey, and wrote to Charles IX. nearly in these terms: that they would die for his service, but would not consent to murder anyone for him.

These were times of such horror and fanaticism,

or fear had taken such strong hold of all minds, that the Parliament of Paris ordered a procession every year on St. Bartholomew's day, to give thanks to God for the extirpation of the heretics. The chancellor de L'Hôpital was of a very different opinion when he wrote "*Excidat illa dies*"—"Let that day be forever erased." Accordingly there was no procession; and afterward they were shocked at the thought of preserving the remembrance of an action that ought forever to be buried in oblivion. But, during the heat of the affair, the court ordered the parliament to try the admiral after his death; and two gentlemen, his friends, Briguemaut and Cavagnes, were formally convicted and drawn upon a sledge to the Grève, together with the admiral's effigy, and there executed. Thus did they complete this horrid scene by adding the forms of justice to their inhuman massacres.

If there could be anything more deplorable than this massacre, it was that it proved the occasion of a civil war, instead of destroying the roots of these troubles. The Calvinists now determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible. About sixty thousand of their brethren had been butchered in time of profound peace, and there still remained more than two millions ready to carry on the war. Fresh massacres now followed on both sides. The siege of Sancerre was remarkable. Historians tell us that the reformed defended themselves in that town as the Jews defended themselves in Jerusalem against

Titus; and like them were at last overpowered, after having suffered the same extremities, insomuch that a father and a mother were driven to make a meal upon their own child. The same is said to have happened in Paris, when that city was besieged by Henry IV.

In 1573, in the midst of these disasters, the duke of Anjou, who had acquired some reputation in Europe by the battles of Jarnac and Moncontour, was elected king of Poland. He considered this dignity only as an honorable exile. He was called to reside among a people whose language he did not understand, who were at that time looked upon in the world as little better than barbarians, and who, though they were not so miserable, so devoured with fanaticism, or so distracted with factions as the French, were at the same time much less civilized and polished. The duke of Anjou's private appanage [1] was worth more to him than the crown of Poland; it amounted to one million two hundred thousand livres, and this distant kingdom to which he was going was so poor that in the diploma of election it was stipulated, as an essential clause, that the king should lay out these one million two hundred thousand livres in Poland. Accordingly he repaired with an ill will to take possession of his new dignity, and yet he seemed not to have much to regret in leaving France. The court he quitted

[1] Lands set apart for the maintenance of younger children of the royal family.

was a prey to as many dissensions as the state itself. Every day brought new conspiracies, real or imaginary, duels, murders, and imprisonments, without form or reason, and which were worse than the troubles which occasioned them. There were not so many illustrious heads brought to the scaffold as in England, but there were more private murders committed, and they already began to grow acquainted with poison.

Nevertheless, when the ambassadors of Poland came to Paris to pay their homage to Henry III., the court gave them a most brilliant and delicately imagined entertainment, in which the genius and talents of the nation shone through the midst of all these horrors and calamities. Sixteen ladies of the court, representing the sixteen principal provinces of France, after dancing a ballet, accompanied with machinery, presented the king of Poland and the ambassadors with gold medals, on which were engraved the productions peculiar to each province.

Henry had scarcely taken possession of the throne of Poland when Charles IX. died, at the age of twenty-four years and one month, after having made his name odious to all the earth, at a time of life when the subjects of his capital were not reckoned out of their minority. He died of a very extraordinary distemper: his blood oozed from all the pores of his body. This accident, which is not wholly without example, may have been caused by excessive fear, a violent transport of passion, or an

overheated and atrabiliary constitution; but it passed with the people, especially the Protestants, for the effect of divine vengeance — a useful notion, had it put a stop to the wickedness of those who are powerful, or unfortunate enough not to be subject to the curb of the laws.

The instant Henry III. heard of his brother's death, he fled from Poland as a man would fly from prison. He might have obtained the consent of the senate to have divided himself between that kingdom and his hereditary dominions, of which there have been many examples; but he hastened from that savage nation to seek in his own country a train of miseries and an end as fatal as had ever yet been seen in France.

He quitted a country where the manners of the people, though rough, were simple; and where ignorance and poverty made their lives gloomy, but at the same time preserved them from being stained with great crimes. The court of France, on the contrary, was a mixture of luxury, intrigues, gallantry, debauchery, plots, superstition, and atheism. Catherine de Medici, who was a niece of Pope Clement VII., had introduced a venality among all the places at her court, such as was practised at the pontiff's. Another invention which she imported with her from Italy was that of selling the king's revenues to certain farmers or purchasers, who advanced money upon them; an expedient which, though it may be useful for a

time, is attended with lasting danger. The superstitious belief in judicial astrology, enchantments, and witchcrafts were likewise fruits of her transplanting from her own country into France; for although the revival of the polite arts was in a great measure owing to the Florentines, yet they were very far from having any knowledge of true philosophy. The queen had brought over with her one Luke Gauric,[1] an astrologer, a man who at this time of day would be despised, even by the populace, as a wretched juggler; but was then looked upon as a person of great consideration. There are still to be seen in the cabinets of the curious some of the constellated rings and talismans of those times; as is that famous medal in which Catherine is represented naked, between the constellations Aries and Taurus, with the name Ebulla Asmodea over her head, holding a dart in one hand and a heart in the other; and in the exergue, "*O ciel.*"

Never was the folly of witchcraft in so much credit as at that time. It was common to make figures of wax, which they pierced to the heart, pro-

[1] He was a native of Gefoni, in the kingdom of Naples, who had made great progress in mathematics and judicial astrology. He lived in high favor with Pope Paul III., who raised him to the bishopric of Cività Ducale. He is said to have predicted that Henry II. of France would be slain in a duel, or single combat. This prediction subjected him to the ridicule and contempt of the French court; but when it was verified, he came to be in great request with Catherine de Medici.

nouncing at the same time certain unintelligible words. By this they fancied they destroyed their enemies: nor were they in the least undeceived by the failure of success. One Cosmo Ruggieri,[1] a Florentine, being accused of having practised against the life of Charles IX. by these pretended spells, was put to the torture. Another of these magicians was condemned to be burned, who declared on his examination that there were over thirty thousand of the same profession in France.

These madnesses were accompanied with numberless acts of devotion, and these again were intermixed with the most abandoned debaucheries. The Protestants, on the contrary, who piqued themselves upon reformation, opposed the strictest severity of conduct to the licentious manners of the court. They punished adultery with death. Shows and games of all kinds were held in as much abhorrence by them as the ceremonies of the Romish Church, and they put the mass almost upon the same footing as witchcraft; so that there were two nations in France absolutely different; and there was the less

[1] By making horoscopes at the court of France he obtained the abbacy of St. Mabé, in Brittany. He was afterward sent to the galleys for having been in a conspiracy against Charles IX., but was soon released by the queen-mother. He composed philtres and almanacs, and after a long absence, appearing at the court of Henry IV., had the impudence to affirm that it was not he, but a certain gardener who had been condemned in the preceding reign. He lived to an old age, and, dying a professed atheist, was denied a Christian burial.

prospect of reunion, as the Huguenots had, ever since the massacre of St. Bartholomew, entertained a design of forming themselves into a republic.

The king of Navarre, afterward Henry IV., and Henry, prince of Condé, son of that Louis who was assassinated at Jarnac, were the heads of this party; but they had been detained prisoners at court ever since the time of the massacre. Charles IX. had offered them the alternative of changing their religion or suffering death. Princes who have seldom any other religion than that of interest do not often choose to encounter martyrdom. Henry of Navarre and Henry of Condé, then, had turned Catholics; but at the death of Charles IX. Condé found means to make his escape, and solemnly abjured the Romish faith at Strasburg: he afterward took refuge in the Palatinate, and made use of his credit with the Germans to procure aid for his party, in the same manner as his father had formerly done.

Henry III., on his return to France, had it in his power to settle matters in that kingdom; it was bathed in blood, it was divided on all sides, but it was not dismembered. It was still in possession of Pignerol, and the marquisate of Saluzzo, and consequently of all the ports of Italy. A few years of a tolerable administration might have healed the wounds of a nation where the land is fruitful and the inhabitants industrious. Henry of Navarre was still in the power of the queen-mother, Catherine

de Medici, who had been declared regent of the kingdom by Charles IX. till the return of the new king. The Huguenots desired only a protection for their religion and properties; and their scheme of forming a republic could never have prevailed against the royal authority resolutely exerted, and not carried to extremes. They might have been easily kept within bounds. Such at least were always the opinions and counsels of the wisest heads in the kingdom, such as the chancellor de L'Hôpital; Paul de Foix; Christopher de Thou, father of the authentic and eloquent historian; Pibrac, and Harlay; but the favorites, who thought to be gainers by a war, determined the king to prosecute violent measures.

No sooner was the king arrived at Lyons than with the handful of troops which had been sent to meet him he endeavored to storm those towns which, by a little politic management, he might have quietly reduced to their duty. He might have perceived that he had taken a wrong step, when, endeavoring to force a small town called Levron, sword in hand, they called to him from the top of the walls, "Draw near, assassins; come on, bloody murderers, you shall not find us asleep as you found the admiral."

He had not at that time money sufficient to pay the soldiers, who therefore disbanded of their own accord; and, happy in not being attacked upon the road, he went to Rheims to be consecrated, and from there to Paris to make his entry under these melan-

choly auspices, and in the midst of a civil war, which his presence had revived, whereas it might have stifled it. He could neither curb the Huguenots, content the Catholics, check his brother, the duke of Alençon, then duke of Anjou; manage his finances, nor discipline an army. He wanted to be absolute, and took no method of being so. He made himself odious by the shameful debaucheries in which he indulged himself with his minions. He rendered himself contemptible by his superstitious practices and his processions, by which he thought to throw a veil over his infamy, and which only tended to expose it the more. He weakened his authority by his extravagance at a time when he should have converted all his gold into steel. There was no police, no justice; his favorites were murdered before his face, or cut each other's throats in their quarrels. His own brother, the duke of Anjou, who was a Catholic, joined against him with Henry of Condé, who was a Huguenot, and brought a body of Swiss into the kingdom, while the prince of Condé entered it with an army of Germans.

During this anarchy, Henry, duke of Guise, son of the late duke Francis, a rich and powerful nobleman, chief of the house of Lorraine, in France, possessed of all his father's credit, idolized by the people, and feared by the court, obliged the king to bestow the command of the armies on him. It was to his interest to throw everything into con-

fusion, that the court might stand in need of his services.

The king demanded a sum of money of his city of Paris. He was answered that it had already furnished, within the last fifteen years, thirty-six millions extraordinary; that the country had been plundered by the soldiery, the city by the financiers, and the church by simony and bad conduct. In short, instead of supplies, he received only complaints.

In the meantime young Henry of Navarre escaped from court, where he had hitherto been detained a prisoner. They might have apprehended him again as a prince of the blood, but they had no right upon his liberty as a king; such he actually was, of Lower Normandy, and of the Upper by right of inheritance. He went to Guienne. The Germans, who had been called in by Condé, entered the province of Champagne. The duke of Anjou, the king's brother, was also in arms.

The devastations of the late reign were revived anew. The king then did by a shameful treaty what he should have done as an able sovereign at his first accession: he concluded a peace, and he granted at the same time much more than would have been demanded of him at first, namely, the free exercise of the reformed religion, with their churches, synods, and courts of justice; to consist of one half Catholics and the other half Protestants, in the parliaments of Paris, Toulouse, Grenoble, Aix,

Rouen, Dijon, and Rennes. He publicly disowned the massacre of St. Bartholomew, in which he was but too deeply concerned. He exempted from taxes for six years the children of all those who were killed in that massacre; restored the memory of the accused Admiral Coligny to its honors; and, to complete his own humiliation, submitted to pay the German troops of the prince palatine, Casimir, those very troops who had forced him to conclude this peace. But not having money enough to satisfy them, he permitted them to live at discretion for three months in the provinces of Burgundy and Champagne. At length he sent the sum of six hundred thousand crowns to Cassimir by his envoy, Bellièvre, who is detained by that prince as a hostage for the payment of the remainder, and carried prisoner to Heidelberg, through which city Casimir orders the spoils of France to be carried in procession to the sound of trumpets, in open wagons, drawn by oxen with their horns gilded.

This low degree of infamy to which the king was sunk emboldened Henry, duke of Guise, to form the League which had been projected by his uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, and to raise himself upon the ruins of a miserable and ill-governed kingdom. The state now teemed with factions, and Henry de Guise was formed for them. He is allowed to have had all the noble qualities of his father, with the most headstrong and designing ambition. Like him he enchanted all hearts; and it was said of the

father and son that in comparison with them all other princes appeared but as common men. He was extolled likewise for a generous and noble heart; but he gave no great proof of this when he trampled on the dead body of Admiral Coligny, which had just been thrown out of a window before his face.

The League was first set on foot in Paris. Papers were scattered among the citizens, containing a project of association for the defence of religion, the king, and the liberty of the state; or rather to oppress at once both king, state, and religion. The League was afterward solemnly signed at Péronne, and throughout the greater part of Picardy, and soon afterward the rest of the provinces acceded to it. The king of Spain declared himself its protector, and it received the sanction of the popes. The king, pressed between the Calvinists, who demanded additional privileges, and the Leaguers, who wanted to deprive him of his own, thought to strike a blow in politics by signing the League himself, for fear it should crush him, and declared himself its chief, which inspired the members of it with double boldness. He now found himself, against his will, obliged to break the peace he had concluded with the Reformers, without having any money to carry on a new war. He convoked a general assembly of estates at Blois, in 1576, but they refused to grant him the supplies he demanded for this war, though they themselves had forced him into it. He

could not even obtain leave to ruin himself by alienating his demesnes. However, he made shift to assemble an army by ruining himself in another manner, namely, by mortgaging the crown revenues and creating new posts. Hostilities were now renewed on both sides, which were followed by another peace. The king was desirous of having money and troops only that he might be in a condition of no longer fearing the power of the Guises; but as soon as the peace was concluded, he consumed his small resource in idle pleasures, feastings, and prodigalities with his favorites.

It was difficult to govern such a kingdom otherwise than by money or arms. Henry III. could scarcely procure either the one or the other. We shall now see what difficulty he had to procure in his greatest need, one million three hundred thousand francs of the clergy for six years, to get the parliament to verify certain money edicts, and with what eagerness this transient supply was devoured by the marquis d'O, comptroller of the finances.

Henry could not be said to reign. The Catholic League and the Protestant confederacy made war upon each other, in spite of him, in all the provinces of the kingdom. Epidemic diseases and famine were added to these scourges; and at this time of general calamity, in order to set up his own favorites against the duke of Guise, after having created Joyeuse and d'Épernon dukes and peers,

and given them precedence over their elder peers, he expended four millions on the marriage of the duke de Joyeuse with the sister of the queen. New taxes were now raised to defray these prodigalities: this excited the indignation of the public afresh. Had the duke of Guise not made a league against the king, his conduct was sufficient to have produced one.

At this time too, his brother, the duke of Anjou, goes into the Netherlands, which were afflicted with equal desolations, in pursuit of a principality, which he lost by his imprudent tyranny. As Henry III. permitted his brother to put himself at the head of the malcontents in Flanders, and endeavor to wrest the provinces of the Netherlands from Philip II., we may judge whether that monarch would support the League in France, which was every day gaining fresh strength. What then were the expedients which Henry thought fit to oppose to it? He instituted societies of penitents, he built monkish cells at Vincennes for himself and the companions of his pleasures: he made a show of worshipping God in public, while he committed the most unnatural acts in private; he went clad in white sackcloth, with a discipline and a string of beads hanging at his girdle, and called himself Friar Henry. Such conduct at once exasperated and emboldened the Leaguers. The pulpits of Paris publicly resounded with censures against his infamous devotion. The

faction of sixteen[1] was formed under the duke of Guise, and nothing of Paris remained to the king but the name.

Henry de Guise, now master of the Catholic party, had already procured troops with the money of his adherents, and he began to attack the friends of the king of Navarre. This prince, who, like Francis I., was the most generous cavalier of his time, offered to terminate this mighty difference by fighting the duke of Guise singly, or with ten against ten, or with any number that he should choose. He wrote to Henry III., his brother-in-law, remonstrating that the League was aimed much more against his crown and dignity than against the Huguenot party; he pointed out to him the precipice on which he stood, and offered to deliver him at the hazard of his life and fortunes.

At this very time Pope Sixtus V. fulminated that famous bull against the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, in which he calls them "the bastard and detestable race of the house of Bourbon," and declares them to have forfeited all right of inheritance and succession. The League made their own use of this bull, and obliged the king to prosecute his brother-in-law, who endeavored to assist

[1] The faction of the sixteen was a kind of particular league for Paris only, consisting of several persons, who were distributed in the sixteen wards of the town, and who had shared the administration of affairs among one another; they were staunch friends to the duke of Guise, and sworn enemies to the king.

him, and to protect and second the duke of Guise, who was dethroning him with respect. This was the ninth civil war since the death of Francis II.

Henry IV. — for we must already call him so, since that name is so famous and dear, and has become a kind of proper name — Henry IV. had at once upon his hands the king of France, Margaret, his own wife, and the League. Margaret, by declaring against her husband, revived the old barbarous times, when excommunications broke the ties of society, and made a prince execrable to his nearest relatives. Henry now showed himself the great man he was: he braved the pope, even in Rome itself, caused papers to be fixed up at the corners of the high streets, in which he gave Sixtus V. the lie, and appealed from his bull to the court of peers.

He easily prevented his imprudent wife from seizing Agenois, which she attempted to do; and as to the royal army which was sent against him under the command of the duke de Joyeuse, all the world knows how he defeated it at Coutras, where he fought like a common soldier at the head of his troops, took several prisoners with his own hand, and showed as much humanity and modesty after his victory as he had shown courage during the fight.[1]

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[1] The duke de Joyeuse threw down his sword to two officers, and offered them one hundred thousand crowns for his ransom; but a captain called St. Herai, riding up

This day gained him more reputation than it brought him real advantages. His army was not like that of a king, which is kept in pay, and always ready for service; it was that of the head of a party, and had no regular pay. The officers could not prevent their soldiers from returning home to gather in their harvests, and were themselves forced to retire to their estates. Henry IV. has been accused of having lost the fruits of his victory by going to Béarn, to pay a visit to the countess of Gramont, of whom he was enamored. These people do not reflect that his army might easily have acted in his absence, could he have kept it together. Henry of Condé, his cousin, a prince whose manners were as austere as those of Navarre were gay and sprightly, quitted the army as well as he, and retired to his estate, after having remained some time in Poitou, as did all the rest of the officers, after solemnly swearing to reassemble again by November 20. Such was the method of making war at that time.

But the prince of Condé's stay at St. John of

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at that instant, shot him dead with a pistol. His brother, the marquis de St. Sauveur, also lost his life. The Catholics were totally routed, with great slaughter; but Henry, instead of improving his victory by advancing toward the Loire and joining his German auxiliaries, or by reducing the provinces of Saintonge, Angoumois, Poitou, and part of Anjou, where he would have met with little or no opposition, repaired to Béarn, to visit the countess of Gramont, at whose feet he laid all the standards which he had taken in the battle.

Angeli was one of the most fatal events of these horrid times. In January, 1588, after having supped with his wife, Charlotte de la Trimouille, at his return he was seized with convulsions, which carried him off in two days. The judge of St. John of Angeli by his own authority committed the princess to prison, examined her himself, entered a criminal process against her, condemned a young page named Permillac de Belle-Castel for contumacy, and sentenced Brillaut, the prince's *maître d'hôtel,* to be drawn asunder by four horses, in the town of St. John of Angeli, which sentence was afterward confirmed by commissioners appointed by the king of Navarre himself. The princess, who was with child, appealed to the court of peers, who declared her innocent, and ordered the proceedings against her to be burned. It may be necessary in this place to refute the story which has been repeated by so many different writers, that this princess was delivered of the great Condé fourteen months after her husband's death, and that the Sorbonne was consulted concerning the child's legitimacy. Nothing can be more false; it has been sufficiently proved that the young prince of Condé was born within six months after his father's decease.

If Henry of Navarre defeated the king's army at the battle of Coutras, the duke of Guise on his side, almost at the same time, routed an army of Germans, which was on the march to join Henry, in which action he gave proofs of

as great conduct as that prince had of courage. The unfortunate affair of Coutras, and the duke of Guise's reputation, proved two fresh subjects of uneasiness to the king of France. Guise, in concert with all the princes of his house, drew up a petition to the king in which they requested of him the publication of the Council of Trent, and the establishment of the Inquisition; that he would order the estates of all the Huguenots to be confiscated for the use of the heads of the League; that new places of security should be put into their hands; and that he would banish such favorites as they should name to him. Every article of this petition was a barefaced outrage on the royal authority. The people of Paris, and especially the cabal of sixteen, publicly insulted the king's favorites, and were even wanting in a proper respect to his own person.

But the real administration of the state at that time is best shown by a small circumstance, which proved the cause of that year's disasters. The king, in order to prevent the troubles which he saw were likely to arise in Paris, forbade the duke of Guise to enter that city. He wrote him two letters on this subject, which he ordered to be despatched by two couriers; but there being no money in the treasury to defray this necessary expense, the letters were put into the post, and the duke of Guise arrived at Paris with the specious excuse that he had not received the order. This occasioned the battle of the Barri-

cades.[1] It would be superfluous to repeat what has been said by so many historians relating to this affair. Everyone knows that the king quitted the capital and fled before his subjects, and that he afterward convoked the second assembly of estates at Blois, where he caused the duke of Guise and the cardinal, his brother, to be assassinated,[2] after hav-

[1] The king having introduced six thousand troops into the city of Paris, with a view to overawe and perhaps to seize the malcontents of that capital, the burghers, under the conduct and direction of the duke of Guise, or his followers, raised barricades in the streets as they advanced, firing on the king's troops, who, being obliged to abandon the city in disgrace, caused the king to think he was no longer safe at the Louvre, and fled to Chartres.

[2] When Henry, by the advice of his mother and a few counsellors, had resolved to assassinate the duke, he would have employed for this purpose, Crillon, colonel of the guards; but that gallant officer rejected the proposal with disdain. He told the king he was a gentleman, and not an executioner; but that if his majesty would allow him to challenge the duke, he would endeavor to kill him fairly in single combat. Henry expressed no resentment at this refusal, but enjoining Crillon to secrecy, made the same proposal to Loignac, captain of the band of Gascon gentlemen, and he readily undertook the office. The duke of Guise had repeated intimations of some design against his life: but he told his friends he was too far advanced to retreat; he observed that the king and he were like two armies facing each other, the first that turned would run the risk of a defeat. The day that preceded his death, he found at table a note under his napkin, assuring him there was a design against his life. Having perused this intimation, he wrote with his pencil on the same paper: "They dare not," and threw it under the table. On December 23, 1588, about eight o'clock in the morning, Revol, the secre-

ing taken the sacrament with them, and solemnly sworn upon the host to live in friendship with them forever.

The laws are held so respectable and sacred that had Henry III. only kept up the appearance of them, or if, when he had the duke and the cardinal in his power at Blois, he had, as he might have done, colored his revenge with the forms of justice, his reputation and his life might have been safe: but the murder of a hero and a priest made him execrable in the eyes of all the Catholics, without adding anything to his power.

And here I think I am bound to rectify an error which is found in many of our books, especially in the "State of France," a work which is frequently reprinted, and in which it is said that the duke of

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tary of state, told the duke of Guise that the king wanted to speak with him in his closet. He forthwith passed through the ante-chamber, and lifting up the hangings in order to enter the closet, was suddenly stabbed in six different places, by those individuals of the Gascon guard whom Loignac had selected for the purpose. He exclaimed: "Lord, have mercy upon me!" and falling dead on the floor, the king, who had with his own hands presented the daggers to the assassins, came out of the closet, and ordered the body to be covered with a carpet, then retired to wait till the rest of his orders should be executed. The cardinal of Guise, with archbishop of Lyons, being in the ante-chamber, and hearing the duke's expiring groan, ran out in great consternation; but their escape was prevented by the Scottish guard: they were confined to different apartments, and next day the cardinal was murdered by the king's order.

Guise was assassinated by the gentlemen in ordinary of the king's bedchamber; the orator Maimbourg also, in his "History of the League," pretends that Loignac, the principal of the murderers, was first gentleman of the bedchamber. All this is manifestly false. The registers of the chamber of accounts which escaped the fire, and which I have consulted, prove that Marshal de Retz and Count de Villequier were taken from the number of gentlemen in ordinary, to be made first gentlemen of the bedchamber, a new post created by Henry II. for Marshal de St. André. These same registers give the names of the gentlemen in ordinary of the bedchamber, who were then of some of the principal families of the kingdom. They had succeeded in the reign of Francis I., to the place of chamberlains, and these latter, to that of knights of the household. The gentlemen called "The Forty-five," who assassinated the duke of Guise, were a new body formed by the duke d'Épernon, and paid by the royal treasury on this duke's notes: and none of their names are found among the gentlemen of the bedchamber.

Loignac, St. Capautet, Alfrenas, Herbelade, and their accomplices were poor Gascon gentlemen, whom Épernon had provided for the king on this occasion. They were handy people, serviceable people, as they were called at that time. Every prince and great nobleman entertained one or more of these about him in those troublous times. They were men of this stamp whom the Guises had employed to

assassinate St. Megrin, one of Henry III.'s favorites. These practices were very different from the noble folly of ancient chivalry, and those times of generous barbarism, when all disputes were decided within lists by equal arms.

So strong is the force of opinion among men that those murderers, who made no scruple of assassinating the duke of Guise in the most cowardly manner, refused to dip their hands in the blood of his brother, the cardinal; and the contrivers of this bloody tragedy were obliged to employ four soldiers of the regiment of guards, who knocked him on the head with their halberds. Two days passed between the murder of the two brothers; this is an irrefragable proof that the king had time enough before him to have made some show of justice, if ever so sudden.

Henry III. was not only wanting in the artifice necessary on this occasion, but he was also wanting to himself in not hastening immediately to Paris with his army. And though he told Catherine de Medici, his mother, that he had taken all the necessary measures, he had provided only for his revenge, and not for the means of reigning. He remained at Blois uselessly employed in examining into the journals of the estates, while the cities of Paris, Orleans, Rouen, Dijon, Lyons, and Toulouse revolted at one and the same time, as it were by agreement. He was now looked upon as no other than an assassin and a perjured wretch. The pope excommunicated

him; and this excommunication, which at any other time would have been held in contempt, became now of the most dreadful consequence, as being joined to the public outcry for justice and seeming to unite both God and man against him. Seventy doctors of the Sorbonne in assembly declared him to have forfeited his crown, and his subjects released from their oath of allegiance. The clergy refused absolution to such of their penitents as continued to own him for king. The cabal of sixteen committed to the Bastille those members of parliament who are most devoted to his interest. The duke of Guise's widow appears to demand justice for the murder of her husband and brother-in-law; and the parliament, at the request of the procurator-general, appoints two of its counsellors, Courtin and Michon, to draw up an indictment against "Henry of Valois, heretofore king of France and Poland."

This monarch had acted so blindly through the whole of this affair that he had no army ready: he therefore sent Sancy to negotiate a supply of men from the Swiss, and had the meanness to write a letter to the duke of Mayenne, who was now at the head of the League, beseeching him to forget the murder of his brother. He likewise employed the pope's nuncio to speak to him; but Mayenne's answer was, "Never will I forgive this miscreant." The letters which mention this negotiation are still preserved at Rome.

At length he is obliged to have recourse to that

very Henry of Navarre, who was at once his conqueror and his lawful successor, and whom he should from the first moment of the forming of the League have taken for his support, not only as a person who was most interested in the maintenance of the royal dignity, but as a prince with whose generosity he was acquainted, who had a soul far superior to the rest of his contemporaries, and who would never have made an ill use of his presumptive right to the crown.

With the assistance of Navarre and the efforts of the rest of his party, he at length saw himself at the head of an army. The two kings now appear before the gates of Paris. It would be needless to recount how that city was delivered by the murder of Henry III. I shall only observe with President de Thou, that when the Dominican friar, James Clement,[1] a fanatical priest, who had been encouraged to this action by his prior, Bourgoin, and the rest of his

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[1] This desperate fanatic obtained admittance to the king at St. Cloud by means of a letter with which he said he was charged by President de Harlay, one of his majesty's friends in Paris. While Henry perused this letter, Clement pulled a knife out of his sleeve, and stabbing his sovereign in the belly, left it sticking in the wound. The king drew it forth with his own hand, and wounded the assassin in the eye; but he was immediately despatched by the guards, who, hearing the noise, ran into the apartment, and the body was thrown out of the window. Henry expired next morning, after having declared the king of Navarre his successor. The council of sixteen, who governed Paris, in all probability knew of Clement's design;

convent, full of the spirit of the League, and sanctified, as he thought, by the sacrament which he had taken, came to demand an audience of the king in order to assassinate him, Henry felt a secret pleasure in seeing him approach, and declared that his heart danced within him every time he saw a monk. I shall pass over the detail of what passed in Paris and Rome on this occasion; with what zeal the inhabitants of the first of these cities placed the picture of the regicide on the altars, how the guns were fired at Rome, and the monk's eulogium publicly pronounced. But it will be necessary to observe that, in the general opinion of the people, this wretch passed for a saint and a martyr, who had delivered the people of God from a persecuting tyrant, on whom they bestowed no other appellation than that of Herod. This man had devoted himself to certain death; his superiors and all those whom he had consulted had commanded him in God's name to do this holy deed. His mind was in a state of invincible ignorance, and he had an inward persuasion that he was going to offer himself a sacrifice for God, the Church, and his country; in short, in the opinion of the divines, he was hastening to eternal happiness, and the king he murdered was eternally damned. This had been the opinion of some Cal-

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for that very morning they imprisoned a great number of persons who were known to have relatives in the king's army, that they might serve as hostages to save the life of the assassin, in case he should have been taken alive.

vinistic divines concerning Poltrot de Meré, and what the Catholics said of the murder of the prince of Orange; and I point out the spirit of the times more than the facts, which are sufficiently known.

CHAPTED CXLIV.

HENRY IV.

In reading the history of Henry IV. by Father Daniel, we are surprised at not finding him a great man. His character is but half drawn; there are none of those sayings which were the lively images of his soul, nor that speech which he made in the assembly of the principal cities of Rouen, and which is worthy of eternal memory; nor yet is any notice taken of the great good he did to his country. In short, Father Daniel's reign of Henry IV. consists only of a dry narrative of military operations, long speeches in parliament in favor of the Jesuits, and the life of Father Cotton.

Bayle, who is erroneous and superficial, when he treats of historical and worldly matters, as he is learned and solid in his logical writings, begins his article of Henry IV. by saying: "Had he been made a eunuch while he was young, he might have eclipsed the glory of Alexander and Cæsar." This is one of those things which he should have struck out of his dictionary; besides, his logic fails him in this ridiculous supposition, for Cæsar was much more addicted to debaucheries with women than

Henry IV. was, and we can see no reason why Henry should have surpassed Alexander. In fine, it is to be wished, for the example of kings, and the satisfaction of the people, that they would consult some better historian than Daniel, such as Mézeray's great history, Perifixe, and the duke of Sully, for what relates to the reign of this excellent prince.

Let us, for our private use, take a summary view of the life of this glorious prince, a life which was, alas! too short. He was from his infancy brought up in the midst of troubles and misfortunes. He was present at the battle of Moncontour,[1] when he was but fourteen years old. He was recalled to Paris by Charles IX., and married to that king's sister, only to see his friends murdered around him, to run the hazard of his own life, and to be detained nearly three years a prisoner of state. He escaped from his confinement only to undergo all the fatigues and vicissitudes of war; he was frequently in want of the common necessaries of life, a continual stranger to rest, exposing his person like the meanest soldier, performing actions which are hardly credible; witness that at the siege of Cahors in 1599, when he was five days successively under arms, and fighting from street to street, without

[1] Moncontour was fought Oct. 3, 1569, between the army of Charles IX., commanded by his brother, the duke of Anjou, afterward Henry III., and the Huguenots, under Admiral de Coligny; the latter were defeated with great slaughter.

taking a moment's rest. The victory of Coutras was principally owing to his courage, and his humanity after the victory was such as gained him every heart.

By the murder of Henry III. he became king of France; but religion served as a pretext for one-half of the chiefs of his army to desert him, and for the Leaguers to refuse to acknowledge him. They set up a phantom of a king in opposition to him, Vendôme, cardinal of Bourbon; and the Spanish monarch, Philip II., who had secured the mastery of the League by his money, already reckoned France as one of his provinces. The duke of Savoy, Philip's son-in-law, invaded Provence and Dauphiny. The Parliament of Languedoc forbade anyone to acknowledge him as king, under pain of death, and declared him "Incapable of possessing the crown of France, agreeable to the bull of our holy father, the pope."

Henry IV. had only the justice of his cause, his personal courage, and a few friends on his side. He never was in a condition to keep an army on foot for any length of time; and what an army his was! It hardly ever amounted to twelve thousand men complete; less than a corps nowadays. His servants took turns to follow him into the field, and left him again after a few months' service. The Swiss troops, and a few companies of spearmen, which he could with difficulty pay, formed the standing force of his army. He was obliged to run from

town to town, fighting and negotiating; and there is hardly a province in France where he did not perform some great exploits, at the head of a handful of men.

At first he fought the battle of Arques near Dieppe, with about five thousand men against the duke of Mayenne's army, which was twenty-five thousand strong; after that he carried the suburbs of Paris, and only needed more men to make himself master of the city itself. He was then obliged to retreat, and to storm several fortified villages in order to open a communication with those towns which were in his interest.

While he was thus continually exposed to fatigues and dangers, Cardinal Cajetanus arrived as legate from Rome, and in the pontiff's name quietly gave laws to the city of Paris. The Sorbonne constantly declared against his sovereignty, and the League reigned in the name of the cardinal of Vendôme, to whom they gave the title of Charles X., and coined money in his name, while Henry detained him prisoner at Tours.

The monks and priests stirred up the people, and the Jesuits ran from Paris to Rome and Spain, to excite factions against him. Father Matthew, who was called the courier of the League, labored to raise bulls and armies to distress him. The king of Spain sent one thousand five hundred spearmen, fully accoutred, making in all about four thousand horsemen, and three thousand of the old Walloon

infantry, under the command of Count Egmont, son of that Egmont whom this king had beheaded. Then Henry rallied the few forces he could get together, and at length found himself at the head of no more than ten thousand men. With this little army he fought the famous battle of Ivry, against the Leaguers, commanded by the duke of Mayenne, and the Spaniards, vastly superior in numbers, artillery, and all necessaries for a large army. He gained this battle, as he had gained that of Coutras, by throwing himself into the thickest ranks of the enemy, and confronting a forest of spears. His words will be forever remembered by posterity: "If you lose your colors, repair to where you see my white plume of feathers; you will always find it in the road to honor and glory." "Spare the lives of Frenchmen," cried he, when the victors were dealing death among the vanquished.

This victory was not like that of Coutras, where he had barely the superiority. He did not lose an instant in taking advantage of his good fortune. His army followed him with alacrity, and was reinforced on its march. But after all, he was able to muster no more than fifteen thousand men; and with this handful of troops he besieged Paris, in which there were at that time nearly two hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants. It is beyond doubt that he would have reduced the city by famine, had he not, by an excess of compassion, per-

mitted his own troops to relieve the besieged. His generals in vain issued orders that no one, under pain of death, should presume to furnish the besieged with provisions; the very soldiers of his army sold them to them. One day when they were going to make an example of two peasants who had been detected in carrying two wagonloads of bread to one of the posterns of the city, Henry chanced to meet them on the way to execution, as he was visiting the quarters: they fell on their knees, and pleaded in excuse, that they had no other way of getting their livelihood: "Go your ways in peace," said the king, giving them all the money he had about him; "the Gascon is poor; had he more, he would give it you." A generous mind cannot refuse a few tears of admiration and tenderness on reading such passages.

While he was thus carrying on the siege, the priests were making continual processions clad in armor, with a musket in one hand and a crucifix in the other. The parliament, the supreme courts, and the citizens, took an oath on the Gospel, in presence of the legate and the Spanish ambassador, not to receive him for their king. But at length provisions began to fail, and the city suffered the most dreadful extremes of famine.

Philip sent the duke of Parma to the relief of Paris with a powerful army. Henry hastened to give him battle. Everyone knows the letters which he wrote to Gabrielle d'Estrées — whose name has

been rendered so famous through him — from the field where he expected to come to an engagement: "If I die," says he, "my last thoughts shall be on my God, and the last but those on you." The duke of Parma did not accept the battle he offered him; he came only to relieve the city, and make the League more dependent on the king of Spain. To continue the siege with so few troops, in the face of so powerful an enemy, was impossible. Here then his successes were again retarded, and his former victories rendered fruitless. However, he prevented the duke of Parma from making any conquests; and, by keeping close to him with his little army as far as the frontiers of Picardy, he obliged him to return to Flanders.

No sooner was he freed from this enemy, than Pope Gregory XIV. made use of the treasures amassed by his predecessor, Sixtus V., to hire troops to send to the assistance of the League. The king had still the joint forces of Spain, Rome, and France, to encounter; for the duke of Parma, when he retreated, had left the duke of Mayenne behind him with an army of eight thousand men. One of the pope's nephews entered France with an army of Italians and letters of admonition, and joined the duke of Savoy in Dauphiny. Lesdiguières, who was afterward the last constable of France, and the last of the powerful French nobles, beat the duke of Savoy and the pope's armies. He, like Henry IV., made war with generals and soldiers who served

HENRY IV. AND GABRIELLE D'ESTRÉES

only once, and yet he defeated these regular troops. Everyone carried arms at that time in France, the peasant, the artificer, and the citizen; this ruined the kingdom, but at the same time it prevented its falling a prey to its neighbors. The pope's troops dispersed of themselves, after having committed such excesses as were till then unknown beyond the Alps. The country people burned the goats which followed their regiments.

Philip II., from his palace in Madrid, continued to feed this flame, by constantly supplying the duke of Mayenne with a little help at a time, that he might neither grow too weak nor too powerful, and by scattering his money through Paris in order to get his daughter, Clara Eugenia, acknowledged queen of France, with the prince whom he should choose to give her for a husband. With this in view he sent the duke of Parma again into France, when Henry was besieging the city of Rouen, as he had done during the siege of Paris. He promised the League that he would send an army of fifty thousand men into the kingdom, as soon as his daughter should be declared queen. Henry quit the siege of Rouen, and drove the duke of Parma again out of France.

In the meantime the faction of the sixteen, who were in Philip's pay, almost completed that monarch's scheme, and the ruin of the kingdom. They had caused the first president of the Parliament of Paris and two of the principal magistrates to be

This struggle between royal power, which always seeks increase, and liberty, which will not yield, has for a long time agitated all the Christian part of Europe. It existed in Spain as long as the Christians had to fight with the Moors, after which the sovereign authority got uppermost. It was this that involved France in troubles, to the middle of the reign of Louis XI.; that has at length established in England the mixed government to which she owes her greatness; and that has cemented in Poland the liberty of the nobles and the slavery of the people. The same spirit has troubled Sweden and Denmark, and founded the republics of Switzerland and Holland: and the same cause has everywhere produced different effects.

The duke of Bavaria refusing to do homage, Otho enters that country with an army, and reduces the duke to some allodial territories. He creates one of the duke's brothers count palatine in Bavaria, and another count palatine towards the Rhine. This dignity of count palatine is revived from the counts of the palace of the Roman emperors, and of the Franks.

He bestows the same dignity upon a duke of Franconia. These palatines are at first supreme judges. They judge in the last appeal in the name of the emperor. This supreme resource of justice is, next to an army, the greatest support of sovereignty.

Otho disposes at pleasure of dignities and lands. The first marquis of Brandenburg dying without

issue, he gives the marquisate to one Count Gerard, who was not related to the deceased one.

The more Otho affects absolute power, the more he is opposed by the noblemen of the great fiefs: and from that very time begins the custom of having recourse to France to support the feudal government in Germany against the authority of the German kings.

The dukes of Franconia and Lorraine and the prince of Brunswick address themselves to Louis d'Outremer, king of France, who enters Lorraine and Alsace and joins the allies.

Otho anticipates the French king; and upon the Rhine near Brisach defeats the dukes of Franconia and Lorraine, who are slain in battle.

He deprives the house of Franconia of the title of palatine: settles it upon the house of Bavaria, and annexes to it lands and castles. Thus was formed the present palatinate of the Rhine.

941 — As the German noblemen of the great fiefs had called the king of France to their assistance, the noblemen of France, in like manner, solicit the assistance of Otho. He pursues Louis d'Outremer through the whole country of Champagne; but is recalled into Germany by conspiracies.

942-944 — The despotism of Otho alienates the minds of men to such a degree that his own brother, Henry, duke of one part of Lorraine, had united with several noblemen to deprive him of his throne and life. He returns therefore to Germany, stifles

by the bishops, for form's sake; for in fact he knew more of the matter than those who pretended to instruct him. His mother had carefully brought him up in the knowledge of both the Old and New Testaments, with which he was perfectly acquainted; and all his conversations turned upon controversial points in religion, as well as upon war and love. Quotations from Scripture, and allusions to the sacred writings, formed what we call the *bel esprit* of those times; and the Bible was so familiar to Henry, that at the battle of Coutras, when he made one of the enemy's officers, named Château Renaud, prisoner with his own hand, he cried out to him in the Scripture phrase, "Yield, Philistine."

We may sufficiently perceive what he himself thought of his conversion, by his letter to the fair Gabrielle,[1] in which he says, "To-morrow is the day

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ing his intention, put to death. The king had a very narrow escape from the poniard of this desperate fanatic; for, having occasion one day to alight upon the road, he gave this Barrière his horse to hold, supposing him to be a peasant.

[1] This lady was daughter of Anthony d'Estrées, seigneur de Cœuvres les Soissons, master of the artillery, and a man of good character. He endeavored as much as lay in his power to prevent her amours with Henry, which began in 1591; but these endeavors were baffled by her own inclination, and the management of her aunt, Madame de Sourdis, who assisted the intrigue. Gabrielle is mentioned in history by the different names of Mademoiselle de Cœuvres, from her father's title; Madame de Liancourt, or de la Roche Guyon, on account of her marriage with Nicholas d'Amerval, seigneur de Liancourt, and de la Roche

that I am to take the adventurous leap. I believe these people will make me hate St. Denis as much as you hate ——." It is sacrificing truth to a false delicacy, to pretend, as Father Daniel does, that Henry IV. had been a Catholic in his heart long before his conversion. His conversion doubtless secured his eternal welfare, but it added nothing to his right to the crown.

In the conferences which he held, he made himself personally admired and esteemed by all who came from Paris to see him. One of the deputies, surprised at the familiarity with which his officers behaved toward him, who crowded about him so as hardly to leave him room; "You see nothing here," said he, "they crowd much more about me in the day of battle." In short, after having taken the city of Dreux before he had learned his new cate-

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Guyon; Marchioness de Monceaux, and Duchess of Beaufort, from the titles bestowed upon her by the king. Though she was a weak woman, she had gained an absolute ascendency over the mind of Henry, whom the love of this woman betrayed into a thousand dangers and indiscretions, that greatly prejudiced his character; she even aspired to the dignity of queen, although Queen Margaret was then alive; and he weakly countenanced this ambition. He even sent Monsieur de Sillery to Rome to solicit a divorce; and how far he might have carried his folly in this particular is not easily determined, had not death interposed and taken her off suddenly, not without suspicion of poison. By this lady Henry had two sons and a daughter, namely, Cæsar, duke of Vendôme; Alexander, grand prior of France, and Catherine Henrietta, who married Charles de Lorraine.

chism, having made his abjuration in the church of St. Denis, having been anointed at Chartres, and having taken care to keep up a good correspondence in Paris, where there was at that time a garrison of three thousand Spaniards, besides Neapolitans and *lansquenets;* he entered that city as its king, with fewer soldiers than there were foreigners on the walls to be spectators of his entry.

Paris had not beheld nor owned a king for above fifteen years. This revolution was brought about by two persons only, Marshal Frissac, and an honest citizen, whose name was less illustrious, though his soul was equally noble; this was a sheriff of Paris, named l'Anglais. These two restorers of the public tranquillity soon got the magistrates and the principal citizens to join with them. They had taken their measures so well, and so artfully imposed upon the legate, Cardinal Pellevé, the Spanish officers, and the faction of sixteen, and kept them so well within bounds, that Henry IV. entered his capital in 1594, almost without bloodshed. He sent all the foreigners home, though he might have made them prisoners, and pardoned all the Leaguers.

Several cities followed the example of Paris; nevertheless, Henry was still far from being master of the kingdom. Philip II., whose design had been always to make himself necessary to the League, had hitherto hurt the king but by halves, but now he injured him in more than one province. Deceived

in his expectation of reigning over the kingdom of France under his daughter's title, he now thought of nothing but dismembering it; and it seemed probable that this kingdom would have been reduced to a worse state than when the English were in possession of one-half of it, and particular nobles tyrannized over the other. The duke of Mayenne had Burgundy; the duke of Guise, son of Balafré, had Rheims, and a part of Champagne; the duke of Mercœur possessed Brittany; and the Spaniards, Blavet, which is now Port Louis. Even those who had been chief officers under Henry aimed at becoming independent: and the Calvinists, whose party he had quitted, fortified themselves against the Leaguers, and began to contrive means for resisting the royal authority. Henry was forced to recover his kingdom foot by foot, partly by intrigue and partly by force; and notwithstanding his being master of Paris, his authority was for some time so weak that Pope Clement VIII. continued to refuse him absolution, of which he would not have stood in need in less troublesome times. None of the religious orders prayed for him in their convents; and in short the Roman Catholic part of the populace were so possessed with the fury of fanaticism, that scarcely a year passed without some attempt against his life. He was continually employed in fighting against one or another head of a party, in subduing, pardoning, negotiating, and purchasing the submission of his enemies. Would

one think that it cost him two millions of the currency of those times to satisfy the claims of the grandees? and yet the duke of Sully's "Memoirs" prove it beyond contradiction; and that he punctually fulfilled all these pecuniary engagements when he came to the absolute and quiet possession of his kingdom, and might have refused to pay the price of rebellion. The duke of Mayenne did not make his peace with him till 1596. Henry was sincerely reconciled to him, and made him governor of the Isle of France. One day when he had wearied the duke in walking with him, he said, "Cousin, this is the only injury I will do you while I live;" in which he kept his word, as he did with everyone.

He at length recovered his kingdom, but in a poor and shattered condition, fully as bad as it had been in the reigns of Philip of Valois, John, and Charles VI. Several of the high roads were overrun with briars, and new paths struck out across the countries, which lay neglected and uncultivated. Paris, which at present contains over seven hundred thousand inhabitants, had not then more than one hundred and eighty thousand. The public finances, which had been dissipated under the reign of Henry III., were now only the remains of the blood of the people openly trafficked for between the officers of the treasury and the king's farmers.

The queen of England, the grand duke of Florence, the German princes, and the Dutch had lent him money to support himself against the League

and the courts of Rome and Spain. To pay these just debts, the general receipts and the demesnes were made over to the collectors of these foreign powers, who had the management of all the revenues of the state in the heart of the kingdom. Several chiefs of the League who had sold the king that fidelity they owed to him had also receivers of the public revenues in their name, and shared among them this part of the royal prerogative. Those who farmed these alienated dues, exacted three, nay four, times their value from the people, and what remained to the king were managed in the same manner; and at length when the general depredation obliged Henry to commit the whole management of the revenues into the hands of the duke of Sully, that minister, whose knowledge was equal to his integrity, found in 1596, that more than one hundred and fifty millions were collected from the people, to bring about thirty into the king's treasury.

Had Henry IV. been only the bravest, most merciful, most upright, and most honest man of his age, his kingdom must have been ruined. It required a prince who knew equally well how to make war and peace, who was acquainted with all the wounds of his kingdom, and the remedies to be applied to them; who was capable of attending to the most important and most trivial affairs, of reforming whatever was amiss, and of doing everything that could be done; all these qualifications met in Henry IV. To the policy of Charles the Wise, he added

the openness of Francis I. and the goodness of Louis XII.

To provide for all these pressing wants, and to carry on so many different negotiations and wars, Henry found it necessary to call an assembly of the chief men of the kingdom at Rouen; this was a kind of states-general. The speech he made to this assembly is still fresh in the memory of every good citizen, who is the least acquainted with the history of his own country. It is as follows:

"Already, by the blessing of heaven, the advice of my faithful servants, and the swords of my brave nobles, among whom I also include my princes, as the quality of gentleman is our fairest title, I have extricated this kingdom from servitude and ruin. I am now desirous to restore it to its ancient splendor; I invite you therefore to partake in this second glory, in like manner as you had a share in the first I have not called you together, as my predecessors have done, to oblige you to approve blindly of my will, but to receive your advice, to confide in it, to follow it, and to put myself entirely into your hands. Such an intention has seldom been found in kings. in conquerors, or in graybeards; but the love I bear to all my subjects makes everything possible and honorable to me." This eloquence, which flowed from the heart of a hero, far transcends all the boasted harangues of antiquity.

In the midst of all these toils and dangers, the Spaniards surprised the city of Amiens, which the

inhabitants attempted to defend. This fatal privilege, which belonged to them, and which they made so bad a use of, served only to subject their city to plunder, to expose all Picardy, and to give new courage to those who attempted to dismember the kingdom. Henry, at the time of this fresh misfortune, was in want of money, and in ill health; nevertheless he assembled a few troops, marched to the borders of Picardy, hastened back again to Paris, and writes a letter with his own hand to the parliaments and principal communities, "for necessaries to feed those who defended the state;" these are his own words. He goes in person to the Parliament of Paris: "Give me but an army," says he, "and I will joyfully lay down my life to defend you, and relieve the kingdom." He proposed the creation of new posts, in order to raise the speedy supplies that were wanting; but the parliament, looking upon these resources as an additional calamity to the nation, refused to verify the edicts, and the king was forced to issue several mandatory letters before he could procure means to lavish his blood at the head of his nobility.

At length by loans, and the indefatigable pains and economy of Rosny, duke of Sully, that worthy servant of so illustrious a master, he found means to assemble a fine army, which was the only one for more than thirty years that had gone to the field provided with all necessaries, and the first that had a regular hospital, in which the sick and wounded

were taken care of, in a manner to which they had hitherto been strangers. Before that every company had taken care of its wounded men as well as it could, and as many had been lost through the want of proper care as by the fortune of arms.

He now retook Amiens, in sight of the archduke Albert, and obliged him to retire. From there he hastened to suppress the troubles in other parts of the kingdom, till at length he saw himself master of all France. The pope, who had refused him absolution when he was but weakly established, granted it to him as soon as he saw him victorious. Nothing now remained but to make peace with Spain, which was concluded at Vervins; and this was the first advantageous treaty that France had made since the time of Philip Augustus.

He now employed all his endeavors to polish and aggrandize the kingdom he had conquered. He disbanded the useless troops, he substituted order and decorum in the public revenues, in the room of the hateful rapine which had hitherto prevailed in them. He paid off the debts of the crown by degrees, and without stripping the people. The peasants to this day repeat a saying of his, which, though trifling in itself, shows a fatherly tenderness, that he wished "they had a chicken in the pot every Sunday." He made an improvement in the administration of justice, and, what was still more difficult, he brought the two religions to live peaceably with each other, at least in appearance. Commerce and

the arts were held in esteem. The manufactories for gold and silver stuffs, which had been forbidden by a sumptuary edict, in the beginning of a troublesome and necessitous reign, were now revived with double lustre, and enriched the city of Lyons and all France. He also established manufactories for raised work in tapestry, both of woollen and silk, interwoven with gold. And they began to make small plate glasses, after the manner of those at Venice. It was to him alone that the nation was indebted for its silk-worms, and the planting of mulberry trees, against the opinion of the great Sully, who excelled in his faithful and expert management of the finances, but was no friend to innovations. Henry also caused the canal of Briare to be dug, by which the river Seine is joined to the Loire. He beautified and enlarged the city of Paris, made the king's square, and repaired all the bridges. The suburb of St. Germain did not at that time join the city, and was not paved; the king undertook to do this, and built that beautiful and noble bridge where the people still behold his statue with an affectionate remembrance. He enlarged, and in a manner rebuilt, the royal palaces of St. Germain, Monceaux, Fontainebleau, and the Louvre, particularly the latter; and appointed apartments in the long gallery of the Louvre, which he built himself, for artists in all branches, whom he not only encouraged by his protection, but frequently rewarded. Lastly, he was the real founder of the royal library.

When Don Pedro of Toledo was sent as ambassador to Henry by Philip III., he hardly knew the city, which he had formerly seen in so unhappy and languishing a condition. "The reason is," said Henry to him, "that at that time the master of the family was absent, but now that he is at home to take care of his children, they thrive and do well."

The gayeties and diversions which had been introduced at court by Catherine de Medici, in the midst of the troubles, were under Henry IV. the ornaments of a peaceful and happy reign.

By rendering his own kingdom thus flourishing, he became the arbiter of others. The popes never imagined, in the time of the League, that the Gascon would one day become the pacificator of Italy, and a mediator between them and the state of Venice, and yet Paul V. was very glad to apply to him for assistance to extricate him from the unadvised step he had taken in excommunicating the doge and senate of Venice, and laying the whole republic under an interdict, on account of certain lawful rights which the senate maintained with its accustomed vigor. Henry was made arbiter in this dispute; and he whom the popes had excommunicated now obliged them to take off the excommunication from Venice. [1]

[1] Father Daniel relates a particular circumstance which appears very extraordinary, and which is related by no other author. He says that Henry IV., after having reconciled the pope and the republic of Venice, spoilt the agreement himself by communicating to the pope's nuncio at Paris, an intercepted letter of a minister of Geneva, in

He protected the infant republic of Holland, supplied it with money from his private purse, and contributed not a little in making the court of Spain acknowledge it a free and independent state

His reputation was now established at home and

which this minister boasts that the doge of Venice and several of the senators were Protestants in their hearts, and only waited for a favorable opportunity of declaring themselves; that Father Fulgentio, of the Order of the Servites, the companion and friend of the famous Sarpi, so well known by the name of Fra Paolo, "labored with much success in this vineyard." He adds, that Henry IV. ordered his ambassador to show this letter to the senate, only striking out the doge's name. But after Daniel has related the substance of this letter, in which Fra Paolo's name is not to be found, he says that this Fra Paolo was mentioned and accused in the copy of the letter shown to the senate. He does not name the minister who wrote this pretended intercepted letter. It is likewise to be observed that the Jesuits, who had been banished from the republic of Venice, are concerned in this letter. In short, Father Daniel makes use of this story, which he ascribes to Henry IV., as a proof of that prince's zeal for the Catholic religion. It would have been an odd zeal in Henry to throw dissension into the midst of the Venetian senate, who were his best allies, and to unite the despicable part of an incendiary with the glorious one of a peacemaker. It is very possible that there might be a real or fictitious letter from a Genevan minister, and that this letter produced some little intrigues quite foreign to the great objects of history; but it is not in the least probable that Henry IV. would have descended to the meanness which Daniel pretends to honor him for; adding: "Whosoever has connections with heretics is either of their religion, or of no religion at all." This odious reflection is even against Henry IV., who had the most connections with the reformed of any man of his time. It is to be

abroad, and he was esteemed the greatest man of his age. The emperor Rudolph was famous only among philosophers and chemists. Philip II. had never fought a battle, and was after all only an indefatigable, gloomy, and dissembling tyrant; and his prudence was by no means to be compared with the courage and openness of Henry IV., who with all his vivacity was as deep a politician as himself. Elizabeth had acquired a great reputation; but not having had the same difficulties to surmount, she could not challenge the same glory. That which she really deserved was dimmed by the double dealings with which she was accused, and stained by the blood of Mary, Queen of Scots, which could never be washed away. Sixtus V. had raised himself a name by the obelisks he had caused to be raised, and the noble monuments with which he beautified Rome. But exclusive of this merit, which is far from being of the first rank, he would never have been known to the world otherwise than for having obtained the pontificate by fifteen years of continual falsity, and a severity which even bordered upon cruelty.

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wished that Father Daniel had entered more minutely into the administration of Henry IV. and the duke of Sully, rather than have descended to all these trifling circumstances, which show more partiality than equity, and unfortunately disclose the author to be more of a Jesuit than a citizen. The count of Boulainvilliers is much in the right when he says that it is almost impossible that a Jesuit should ever write a good history of France.

Those who still reproach Henry so bitterly on account of his amours do not reflect that his weaknesses were those of the best of men, and that they never prevented him from attending to the good government of his kingdom. This he gave sufficient proofs of when he made preparations for acting as the arbiter of Europe, in the affair relating to the succession of Juliers. It is a ridiculous calumny in Le Vassor, and some other compilers, to assert that Henry engaged in this war only on account of the young princess of Condé: we should rather believe the duke of Sully, who candidly owns the weaknesses of this monarch, and at the same time proves that the king's great designs had not the least connection with any love affair. It certainly was not on the princess of Condé's account that Henry made the treaties of Quierasque, secured all the Italian powers, and the Protestant princes of Germany in his interest, and proposed to put the finishing hand to his glory, by holding the balance of Europe.

He was ready to march into Germany at the head of forty thousand men. He had forty millions in reserve, immense preparations, sure alliances, skilful generals trained under himself; the Protestant princes of Germany, and the new republic of the Netherlands ready to second him; everything seemed to promise certain success. The pretended division of Europe into fifteen principalities is known to be an

idle chimera that never entered his head.[1] If he had ever entered upon a negotiation relating to so extraordinary a design, we should have found some traces of it either in England, in Venice, or in Holland, with whom it is supposed that Henry concerted matters for this revolution; but there is no such thing, and this project is neither true nor likely: but by his alliances, his arms, and his economy, he was on the point of altering the system, and of

[1] If we may believe the duke de Sully, it certainly entered his head, and was the object of his perpetual meditation. He imagined that the states of Europe might be united into a kind of Christian commonwealth, the peace of which might be maintained by establishing a senate by which all differences should be determined; and he conceived that such a confederacy might easily overturn the Ottoman power. The number of the states to be thus united was fifteen, namely, the papacy, the empire of Germany, France, Spain, Hungary, Great Britain, Bohemia, Lombardy, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, the republic of Venice, the States-General, the Swiss cantons, and the Italian commonwealth, to consist of Florence, Genoa, Lucca, Modena, Parma, Mantua, and Monaco. In order to reduce these states to a sort of political equality, he proposed that the empire should be given to the duke of Bavaria, Naples to the pope, Sicily to the Venetians, Milan to the duke of Savoy, who should become king of Lombardy; the Austrian Low Countries to the Dutch; Franche-Comté, Alsace, and the country of Trent to the Swiss. After all, this was a visionary scheme, which could not have been executed without involving all Europe in war and confusion; for howsoever well it might have been relished by those states who were to be gainers by it, it must have been obstinately opposed by all the powers that were to be dismembered, especially the house of Austria, which Henry, without all doubt, intended to crush.

rendering himself the arbiter of Europe. In a word, he completed the career of his glory.

Were we to give this faithful description of Henry IV. to a stranger of good understanding, who had never heard him spoken of before, and to conclude by telling him, that this is the man who was assassinated in the midst of his people, and whose life had been several times attempted, and that by men to whom he had never done the least injury, he would not believe it.

It is a very deplorable thing that the religion which enjoins the forgiveness of injuries should have occasioned so many murders to be committed, and this only in consequence of the maxim that all who think differently from us are in a state of reprobation, and that we are bound to hold such in abhorrence.

It is still more strange that the Catholics did not conspire against the life of this excellent king till after he became a Catholic. The first who made an attempt upon his life at the very time that he was making his abjuration at St. Denis, was a wretch from the dregs of the people, named Pierre Barrière. He had some scruples when the king had made his abjuration; but was confirmed in his design by a few of the most furious of the Leaguers, namely, Aubri, curate of St. Andrew des Arts, a Capuchin friar, a regular priest, and Varade, rector of the Jesuits' college. The famous Stephen Paquier, advocate-general of the chamber of accounts,

declares that he was informed from the mouth of this Barrière himself, that he had been encouraged to this action by Varade. This accusation receives an additional degree of probability from the flight of Varade and Aubri, who took refuge at the cardinal legate's, and accompanied him when he returned to Rome, at the time that Henry IV. entered Paris. And what renders this probability still more strong is that Varade and Aubri were afterward quartered in effigies by an edict of the Parliament of Paris, as we find related in the journal of Henry IV. Father Daniel uses unpardonable endeavors to exculpate Varade; whereas, the curates take no pains to justify the unwarrantable violence of the curates of those times. The Sorbonne acknowledges the detestable decrees it issued; the Dominicans still agree that their brother Clement assassinated Henry III. and that he was instigated to this murder by the prior, Burgoin. Truth is superior to every consideration and regard, and it is the voice of truth that no churchman of the present time is obliged to answer for or blush at the bloody maxims and barbarous superstition of his predecessors, since there is not one of them who does not hold them in abhorrence; it only preserves the remembrance of these crimes, to the end that they may never be imitated.

So universal was the spirit of fanaticism at that time, that a weak Carthusian friar, named Ouin, was persuaded that he should gain a quicker admittance into heaven by murdering Henry IV. This

unhappy wretch was shut up in a madhouse by his superiors. In the beginning of 1599, two Jacobin friars of Flanders, the one named Arger, and the other Ridicovi, originally of Italy, resolved to revive the action of their brother, James Clement; the plot was discovered, and their lives paid the forfeit of a crime they did not commit. Their punishment did not deter a Capuchin friar of Milan, who came to Paris with the same design, and was hanged like them.

The attempt made by John Châtel is the strongest proof we can have of the mad spirit which reigned at that time; born of an honest family, of rich parents, who brought him up well, young, and void of experience in the world, not having quite attained his nineteenth year, it was impossible that he should have formed this desperate resolution of himself. We know that he wounded the king with a knife, in the Louvre, but struck him only on the mouth, because this good prince, who had a custom of embracing all his servants whenever they came to pay their court to him after a long absence, was at that time stooping to embrace Montigni.[1]

[1] The blow was struck with such force as to knock out one of the king's teeth, though it was certainly intended for his throat. Count de Soissons, who stood by the king, perceiving a young man change color and endeavor to escape, laid hold of him, saying: "Friend, either you or I have wounded the king." He was the son of Peter Châtel, a rich draper, a person of very weak intellect, driven to a kind of religious despair.

He persisted at his first examination, that he had done a meritorious action, and that the king not having yet received absolution from the pope, he might kill him with a safe conscience. This alone is sufficient to prove that he was seduced to commit this crime.

He had long been a student in the Jesuits' college. Among all the dangerous superstitions of those times, there was one very well calculated to delude minds; this was the meditating chamber, in which a young man was shut up; the walls were painted with figures of devils, torments, and flames, and lighted with a dim taper: weak and susceptible imaginations have frequently been struck with these horrors even to madness; and it was with this kind of madness that the unhappy wretch we have mentioned was seized, and thought that he would redeem his soul from hell by assassinating his sovereign.

It is beyond doubt that the judges would have been wanting in their duty had they neglected to examine the Jesuits' papers, especially after John Châtel had owned that he had often heard it said among these monks that it was lawful to kill the king.

They found among the papers of Professor Guignard, these words, written with his own hand: "Neither Henry III., Henry IV., Queen Elizabeth, the king of Sweden, nor the elector of Saxony, are real kings; Henry III. is a Sardanapalus; the Gascon, a fox; Elizabeth, a she-wolf; the king of

Sweden, a griffin; and the elector of Saxony, a hog." This was called eloquence. "James Clement," adds this writer, "did a heroic action, and was inspired by the Holy Ghost. If war can be made upon the Gascon, make war upon him, if not, let him be assassinated."

It is very strange that Guignard had not burned this writing the moment that he heard of Châtel's attempt. They apprehended his person, and that of Gueret, professor of an absurd science they called philosophy, and of which Châtel had long been a student. Guignard was hanged, and afterward burned; and Gueret having made no confession when put to the torture, was only condemned to be banished the kingdom, together with all the rest of the Jesuits.

Prejudice must certainly draw a very tight bandage over the eyes of men since the Jesuit Jouvenci, in his history of the Company of Jesus, compares Guignard and Gueret "to the primitive Christians who were persecuted by Nero." He particularly praises Guignard for refusing to ask pardon of the king and the court, when he performed the *amende honorable,* with a lighted taper in his hand, with his writings pinned upon his back. He represents Guignard as a martyr, who asks forgiveness of God, because after all he might still be a sinner; but who, notwithstanding the dictates of his conscience, would never acknowledge that he had offended the king. How could he have offended him more than by

declaring in writing that he ought to be murdered, unless he had murdered him himself? Jouvenci considers the arret of the parliament as a most iniquitous sentence. *"Meminimus,"* says he, *"et ignoscimus"*—"We remember it, but we forgive it." It is certain that the sentence was severe, but doubtless it cannot appear unjust, if we consider the writings of the Jesuit Guignard, the furious outbursts of another Jesuit named Hay, the confession of John Châtel, the writings of Toletus, Bellarmin, Mariana, Emanuel Sa, Suarez, Salmeron, Molina, the letters of the Jesuits of Naples, and the number of other writings in which this wicked doctrine of king-killing is found. It is true that Châtel had not been advised by any of the Jesuits; but it is likewise as true, that while he was a student among them, he had heard this doctrine, which was at that time too common.

How can the banishment of the Jesuits in these times be looked upon as so very unjust, when no complaint is made of the treatment of the father and mother of John Châtel, who were guilty of no other crime than that of having brought into the world an unhappy creature, whose understanding had been perverted? These unhappy parents were condemned to be banished and do penance; their house was levelled to the ground, and a pillar erected on the place where it stood, with the crime and sentence engraved on it, and where it is said that the court has forever banished this society of a new kind and

a devilish superstition, which had instigated John Châtel to this horrid crime. It is further worthy of observation, that the arret of the parliament was inserted in the Roman index. All this demonstrates that these were times of fanaticism; that if the Jesuits had, in common with others, taught these dreadful maxims, they appeared more dangerous than others, because they had the education of youth; that they were punished for past faults, which three years before had not been considered as faults in Paris; and lastly, that the unhappiness of those times rendered this arret of the parliament necessary.

These dreadful examples, however, did not destroy the spirit of the League, and Henry IV. at length fell a victim to it. Ravaillac had for some time been a mendicant friar, and his mind was still heated with what he had heard in his youth. Never did superstition in any age produce such dreadful effects. This unhappy wretch thought exactly as John Châtel had done, that he would divert the wrath of God by murdering Henry IV. The people said that the king was going to make war upon the pope, because he was going to assist the Protestants in Germany. Germany was at that time divided by two leagues, the one called the Evangelical, which was composed of almost all the Protestant princes, and the other the Catholic, at the head of which they had put the pope's name. Henry protected the Protestant League; this was the sole cause of his being

murdered: for we must credit the constant deposition of Ravaillac. He declared, without ever varying, that he had no accomplice, and that he had been urged to this action by an instinct which he could not overcome. He signed his deposition, of which some sheets were afterward found in 1720 by a secretary of the parliament, and which I have seen: his abominable name is distinctly written, and under it in the same hand, this distich:

Que toujours dans mon cœur
Jesus soit le vainqueur.

Forever in my heart
Let Christ have the first part.

This is a fresh proof that this monster was no other than a furious madman; and it is a great instance of the force of destiny, that France should have been deprived of Henry IV., and the state of Europe changed by such a man. Some have dared to impute this crime to the house of Austria; others to Mary de Medici, the king's consort; to Balzac d'Entragues, his mistress, and to the duke d'Épernon; these invidious insinuations, which Mézeray and others have copied without properly examining, destroy one another, and serve only to show the great credulity of human malice.

Ravaillac[1] was only the blind instrument of the

[1] This infamous miscreant had for some time followed the king in his excursions, in quest of an opportunity to perpetrate his horrid purpose. That very morning he

spirit of the times equally blind. Barrière, Châtel, Ouin the Carthusian, and the vicar of St. Nicholas

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intended to have stabbed him at the Feuillans, where he went to hear mass, but was hindered by the interposition of the duke de Vendôme. After dinner the king appeared extremely uneasy, and, leaning his head upon his hand, was heard to say softly: "My God! what is this that will not suffer me to be quiet?" About four in the afternoon he went into his coach with the duke d'Épernon, the duke de Montbazon, the marquis de la Force, the marquis de Mirabeau, Messieurs de Ravardin, Roquelaur, and Liancourt, and ordered the coachman to drive to the cross of Tiroy. Thence it proceeded to the churchyard of St. Innocent; then turning into the Rue de la Ferronière, which was very narrow, there was a stop, occasioned by two loaded carts. The king had sent away his guards, and ordered the coach to be opened, that he might see the preparations for the queen's entry: all the pages had gone round another way except two, one of whom went before to clear the way, while the other stopped behind to tie up his garter. Ravaillac, who had followed the carriage, took this opportunity to perpetrate his shocking purpose. He mounted on the coach wheel, and with a long knife, sharp on both sides, struck the king over the shoulder of the duke d'Épernon. Henry exclaiming, "I am wounded," the assassin repeated the blow with greater force, and the knife penetrated the thorax, divided the vena cava, so that the king expired immediately. Ravaillac was not seen by any person while he performed this atrocious murder; and if he had thrown down the knife under the coach, he might have escaped unnoticed: but he stood on the wheel like a statue, with the bloody knife in his hand. A gentleman coming up, would have put him to death immediately, but the duke d'Épernon called aloud: "Save him on your life," and the miscreant was taken alive. Everybody knows the nature of the torments to which this desperate fanatic was subjected.

des Champs hanged in 1595, a tapestry weaver in 1596, a wretch who was, or pretended to be mad, and others whose names have escaped my memory, all attempted the same murder; they were all young, and all of the dregs of the people; so much does religion become fury in the minds of the common people and youth. Of all the assassins which this horrible age produced, only Poltrot de Meré [1] was a gentleman.

CHAPTER CXLV.

FRANCE UNDER THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIII. TILL THE ADMINISTRATION OF CARDINAL DE RICHELIEU — STATES-GENERAL HELD IN FRANCE — MISFORTUNES IN THE ADMINISTRATION — MARSHAL D'ANCRE ASSASSINATED; HIS WIFE CONDEMNED TO BE BURNED — ADMINISTRATION OF THE DUKE DE LUINES — CIVIL WARS — HOW CARDINAL DE RICHELIEU CAME INTO THE COUNCIL.

After the death of Henry IV. [2] it was seen how much the power, credit, manners, and spirit of a nation frequently depend upon a single man. This

[1] The Protestant fanatic who assassinated the duke of Guise at the siege of Orleans, in the year 1563.

[2] This great prince often expressed his desire of accomplishing ten things, which were called his ten wishes: God's grace and assistance; the preservation of his senses to the hour of his death; the security of the Protestant religion; a divorce from his first wife, Margaret, with whom he lived unhappily; the restoration of the ancient

prince had by a vigorous yet gentle administration, kept all orders of the state in union, lulled all factions to sleep, maintained peace between the two religions, and kept his people in plenty. He held the balance of Europe in his hands by his alliance, his riches, and his arms. All these advantages were lost in the very first year of the regency of his widow, Mary de Medici. The duke d'Épernon, the haughty minion of Henry III., the secret enemy to Henry IV., and the declared one of his ministers, went to the parliament the very day that Henry was assassinated. Épernon, as colonel-general of the infantry, had the command of the regiment of guards; he entered the assemblies with his hand on his sword, and obliged the parliament to assume to itself the right of disposing of the regency, a right which till then had belonged only to the states-general. It has been an established law in all nations that those who have a right to nominate a person to fill the throne when vacant, have likewise that of appointing the regency. To make a king is the first of all rights; to appoint a regent is the second, and this supposes

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splendor of France; the recovery of Navarre, Flanders, or Artois, from Spain; a victory gained in person over the Catholic king, and another against the grand seignior; the reduction of his Protestant subjects to obedience, without having recourse to violence; the humiliation of the dukes d'Épernon, Bouillon, and Trimouille, so that they should implore his clemency; and finally, the execution of his grand design.

the first. The Parliament of Paris then tried the cause of the vacant throne, and disposed of the supreme power, by being forced to it by the duke d'Épernon, and because there had not been time to assemble the three orders of the state.

It published an arret, declaring Mary de Medici sole regent. The next day the queen came to have the decree confirmed in presence of her son; and Chancellor de Sillery, in that ceremony which is called the bed of justice,[1] took the opinions of the presidents before that of the peers, and even the princes of the blood, who pretended to a share in the regency.

You see by this, and you may have frequently remembered, how rights and customs are established, and how what has been once solemnly done contrary to the ancient rules, becomes itself a rule thenceforward, till some future occasion causes it to be laid aside.

Mary de Medici thus appointed regent, in 1610, though not mistress of the kingdom, lavished in making of creatures all that Henry the Great had

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[1] When the king of France goes to parliament to hold a bed of justice, the different chambers assemble in their red robes, with scarlet copes, the presidents having their mantles and copes of scarlet, with their caps called mortiers. The king is seated upon a throne under a canopy of blue velvet, powdered with golden fleurs-de-lis. The first president begins his harangue on his knees; but the king bids him rise, and allows him to speak standing. The same ceremony is observed toward the advocate-general.

amassed to render his nation powerful. The army he had raised to carry the war into Germany was disbanded; the princes he had taken under his protection were abandoned. Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, the new ally of Henry IV., was obliged to ask pardon of Philip III. of Spain, for having entered into a treaty with the French king, and sent his son to Madrid to implore the mercy of the Spanish court, and to humble himself as a subject in his father's name. The princes of Germany, whom Henry had protected with an army of forty thousand men, now found themselves almost without assistance. The state lost all its credit abroad, and was distracted at home. The princes of the blood and the great nobles filled France with factions, as in the times of Francis II., Charles IX., and Henry III., and as afterward, during the minority of Louis XIV.

At length an assembly of the states-general [1] was

[1] The states-general of France were composed of three orders, the clergy, the noblesse, and the *tiers état,* or third estate, consisting of magistrates representing the people. They were convoked occasionally, at the pleasure of the king, by his edict directed to the different parliaments, which distributed these edicts to the bailies and inferior judges. They were called to give their advice and assistance to the sovereign, and deliberate upon the state of the nation in all emergencies. In this last assembly of the states-general of France, the chamber of the clergy consisted of one hundred and forty deputies, including cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastics: there were one hundred and thirty-two members in the chamber of the noblesse; and in that of the third estate one hundred

called at Paris, in 1614, the last that was held in France. The Parliament of Paris was not admitted to a seat in it. Its deputies had assisted at the great assembly of the chief men of the kingdom, held at Rouen in 1594; but this was not a convocation of the states-general; the intendants of the finances, and the treasurers, had taken their seats there as well as the magistrates.

The university formally summoned the chamber of the clergy to receive it as one of the members of the estates, alleging that it was its ancient privilege; but the university had lost its privilege with its credit, as the minds of the people became more free, though not more enlightened.

These estates thus assembled in haste, had no trustees for the laws and customs of the kingdom, like the Parliament of England, and the Diet of the empire; they had no part in the supreme legislature, and yet they wanted to be lawgivers; a privilege naturally sought after by everybody who is the

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and ninety-two deputies, mostly officers of justice, or of the revenue. In the general procession the *tiers état* went before, the noblesse came after, and lastly the clergy. During their session, Louis XIII., being a child, was placed upon an elevated seat, accompanied by the queen-mother, Monsieur the king's brother, the princes and great officers of the crown, placed each according to his rank, on a large stage. The clergy were seated on benches to the right, the noblesse to the left, and behind them the *tiers état*. Cardinal Joyeuse was president for the clergy, baron de Senecey for the noblesse, and the *prévôt des marchands* of Paris for the third order.

representative of a nation. From the private ambition of each individual is formed a general ambition.

The most remarkable thing which happened in these estates was, that the clergy in vain demanded that the Council of Trent should be received in France; and the third estate, with as little success, demanded the publication of the law: "No power, spiritual or temporal, has a right to dispose of the kingdom, or to release the subjects from their oath of allegiance; and the opinion of its being lawful to kill kings is impious and detestable."

It was the third estate in particular, who moved for this law, after having attempted to depose Henry III. and suffering the utmost extremities of famine, rather than acknowledge Henry IV. But the factions of the League were extinguished, and the third estate, which makes the principal part of the nation, and cannot have any private interest, was attached to the crown, and detested the pretensions of the court of Rome. Cardinal Duperron on this occasion forgot what he owed to the blood of Henry IV. and thought only of the interest of the Church. He strongly opposed this law, and suffered himself to be carried away so far as to declare that he should be obliged to excommunicate all those who should persist in maintaining that the Church had not the power of deposing kings. He added at the same time, that the pope's power was "full, most full, directly in spiritual matters, and indirectly in temporal." The ecclesiastical chamber, which was gov-

erned by the cardinal, persuaded the chamber of the noblesse to join with it. The body of the noblesse had always been jealous of the clergy, but it affected to think in everything different from the third estate. The question now in dispute was whether or not the spiritual and temporal powers had a right to dispose of the crown. The body of nobles, though it did not declare so much, thought itself essentially a temporal power. The cardinal told them that if a king should go about to force his subjects to become Arians or Mahometans, he ought to be deposed. This was a very unreasonable speech, for there had been a number of emperors and kings who were Arians, and yet had not been deposed on that account. This supposition, chimerical and absurd as it was, persuaded the deputies of the noblesse that there were some cases in which the chiefs of the nation might dethrone their sovereign; and this privilege, though distant, was so flattering to self-love, that the noblesse were desirous of sharing it with the clergy. The ecclesiastical chamber signified to the third estate, that it was indeed their opinion that it was not lawful to kill the king, but were resolute as to the rest.

In the midst of this strange dispute, the parliament issued an arret, declaring it to be a fundamental law of the state that the throne was absolutely independent.

It was doubtless the interest of the court to support the demand of the third estate, and the arret of

parliament, after the many troubles which had endangered the throne in preceding reigns. Nevertheless the court gave way to Cardinal Duperron, the clergy, and the court of Rome, with which latter it was particularly desirous to keep fair, and suppressed an opinion on which its own safety was founded, trusting that this truth would never be really opposed by any future event, and desiring to put an end to disputes which were of too delicate and disagreeable a nature; it even suppressed the arret of parliament, on pretence that that court had not the least right to determine concerning the deliberations of the estates; that it had been wanting in the respect due to them; and that it did not belong to it to make fundamental laws. Thus did the court wrest the arms out of the hands of those who were fighting for it, as thinking it should have no need of them. At length the result of this assembly was, the laying open of all the grievances of the kingdom, without being able to redress one.

France remained in confusion, and was governed by one Concini, a Florentine, who rose to be marshal of France without ever having drawn a sword, and prime minister without knowing anything of the laws. It was sufficient that he was a foreigner for the princes to be displeased with him.

Mary de Medici was in a very unhappy situation, for she could not share her authority with the prince of Condé, chief of the malcontents, without being deprived of it altogether; nor trust it in the hands

of Concini, without displeasing the whole kingdom. Henry, prince of Condé, father of the great Condé, and son of the hero of the battle of Coutras, in conjunction with Henry IV., put himself at the head of a party, and took up arms. The court made peace with him, and afterward imprisoned him in the Bastille.

This had been the fate of his father and grandfather, and was that of his son. His confinement increased the number of the malcontents. The Guises, who had formerly been implacable enemies to the Condé family, now joined with them. The duke of Vendôme, son of Henry IV., the duke of Nevers, of the house of Gonzaga, Marshal de Bouillon, and all the rest of the malcontents fortified themselves in the provinces, protesting that they continued true to their king, and made war only against the prime minister.

Concini,[1] Marshal d'Ancre, secure of the queen-

[1] A native of the county of Penna, in Tuscany. He followed Mary de Medici, who appointed him her gentleman usher, and afterward made him gentleman of the bedchamber to her son, the king. He owed his fortune to the credit of his wife, Eleanor Galigai, who was the queen's favorite. He was created marquis d'Ancre, governor of Normandy, marshal of France, and had a great share in the administration, during the minority of Louis XIII. He incurred the hatred of the French by his insolence, ambition, and avarice, though perhaps at bottom they thought his greatest crime was his being a foreigner. When he first quitted Florence, one of his friends asking him what he was going to make in France, he replied:

regent's protection, braved them all. He raised seven thousand men at his own expense, to support the royal authority, or rather his own, and this step proved his ruin. It is true that he raised these troops by virtue of a commission from the king; but it was a great misfortune to France that a stranger, who had come thither without any fortune, should have wherewithal to raise as strong an army as that with which Henry IV. had recovered his kingdom. Almost the whole nation combined against him could not procure his fall; and a young man, of whom he had not the least apprehension, and who was a stranger like himself, caused his ruin and all the misfortunes of Mary de Medici.

Charles Albert of Luines, born in the county of Avignon, had, with his two brothers, been taken into the number of gentlemen-in-ordinary to the king, and the companions of his education. He had insinuated himself into the good graces and confidence of the young monarch by his dexterity in bird-catching. It was never supposed that these childish amusements would end in a bloody revolution. Marshal d'Ancre had given him the government of Amboise,

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"My fortune, or perish." Christina of Lorraine, grand duchess of Tuscany, having employed a person in whom she could confide to advise him in her name to bring his ship softly into harbor, in order to avoid the tempest that seemed ready to burst upon his head, he declared, that while the wind was astern, he would keep the sea and continue his voyage, that he might see how far the gale of fortune would carry a favorite.

thinking by that to make him his creature; but this young man conceived the design of murdering his benefactor, banishing the queen, and governing himself; all which he accomplished without meeting with any obstacle. He soon found means of persuading the king that he was capable of reigning alone, though he was not then quite seventeen years old, and told him that the queen-mother and Concini kept him in confinement. The young king, to whom in his childhood they had given the name of Just, consented to the murder of his prime minister; the marquis of Vitri, captain of the king's guards, du Hallier, his brother, Persan, and others, were sent to despatch him, who finding him in the court of the Louvre, shot him, in 1617: upon this they cried out "*Vive le roi,*" as if they had gained a battle, and Louis XIII. appearing at a window, cried out: "Now I am king." The queen-mother had her guards taken from her, was confined to her own apartment, and afterward banished to Blois. The place of marshal of France, held by Concini, was given to the marquis of Vitri, his murderer. The same honor had been conferred by the queen-mother on Thémines, for seizing the prince of Condé; this made the duke of Bouillon say that he was ashamed of being a marshal, since that dignity had been made the reward of a bailiff and an assassin.

The populace, who are always extreme, and always cruel when let loose, ran to St. Germain l'Auxerrois, where Concini had been buried, dug

up his dead body, dragged it through the streets, and cut out the heart; nay, there were some of them so brutal, as to broil it upon a fire and eat it. His body was afterward hung upon a gibbet. There was still a spirit of fierceness in the nation, which, though softened for a time by the happy years of Henry IV., and the taste for the arts, which had been introduced by Mary de Medici, was still breaking out on the least provocation. The populace treated the remains of Marshal d'Ancre in this cruel manner, only because he was a foreigner, and had been powerful.

The famous Nani, in his history; Marshal d'Estrées, in his memoirs, and Count de Brienne do justice to Concini's merit and innocence; and such testimonies serve to set the living right, though they cannot do anything for those who have suffered in so unjust and cruel a manner.

This furious hatred was not confined to the common people; in 1617, a commission was sent to the parliament for passing sentence upon the marshal after his death, and for trying his wife, Eleanor Galigai, thus to screen the infamy of his murder under the appearance of legal cruelty. Five counsellors of the parliament refused to assist at the trial; but there were only five prudent and just men.

Never was there a proceeding so void of justice and so disgraceful to reason. They could not find any crime against the marshal's wife, but that of having been the queen's favorite: she was accused

of sorcery, and certain *agni dei* which she carried about her were taken for talismans. Counsellor Courtin asked her what charms she had made use of to bewitch the queen. Galigai, incensed against the counsellor, and a little displeased with Mary de Medici, replied: "My only charm was the power which all great minds have over weak ones." This answer did not save her: some of the judges had discernment and justice enough not to think her worthy of death; but the rest, carried away by the general prejudice, by ignorance, and still more by the persuasions of those who wanted to have a share in the spoils of this unhappy pair, passed sentence on the husband, who was already dead, and his wife, who survived him, as guilty of sorcery, Judaism, and malpractice. Galigai was burned, and the king's favorite, Luines, had the confiscated estates.

This unfortunate Galigai was the first promoter of Cardinal Richelieu's fortune; while he was yet very young, and was called the abbot of Chillon, she procured him the bishopric of Luçon, and at length got him made secretary of state in 1616. He was involved in the disgrace of his protectors, and he who afterward pronounced sentence of banishment against so many from that throne on which he was seated next his master was himself banished to a little priory at the farther end of Anjou.

Concini, without ever having served, had been a marshal of France; Luines was four years afterward constable of the same kingdom, without having

been an officer. Such a ministry met with little respect; nothing was seen but factions among the nobles and the people, and everyone undertook the most daring enterprises.

In 1619, the duke of Épernon, who had caused the queen to be declared regent, went to the castle of Blois, whither she had been banished, and carried her to his estate in Angoulême, like a sovereign who rescues his ally.

This was manifestly an act of high treason; but it was a crime that was approved by the whole kingdom, and one which added to the duke of Épernon's glory. The nation had hated Mary de Medici while she was in full power, and they loved her now that she was unfortunate. No one murmured when the king imprisoned his mother in the Louvre, nor when he banished her without any reason; and now they considered as a wicked attempt the endeavors he used to take his mother out of the hands of a rebel. They were so apprehensive of the violence of Luines's counsels, and the cruelty and weakness of the king, that his own confessor, the Jesuit Arnoux, as he was preaching in his presence, before the accommodation, made use of these remarkable words: "It can never be believed, that a religious prince would draw his sword to shed the blood of which he was formed: you would not suffer me, sire, to advance a falsehood from the seat of truth. I conjure you, by the bowels of Jesus Christ, not to hearken to violent

counsels, nor to give this subject of scandal to all Christendom."

It was a fresh proof of the weakness of the administration that anyone dared speak thus from the pulpit. Father Arnoux could not have expressed himself otherwise had the king condemned his mother to death. Louis XIII. had then hardly begun to raise any army against the duke of Épernon; it was therefore publicly revealing the secrets of the state, and speaking in the name of God against the duke of Luines. Either the confessor had a heroic and indiscreet freedom, or he had been gained over by Mary de Medici. Whatever was his motive, this public discourse shows that there was a degree of boldness even in those minds which seemed formed only for submission. A few years later the constable had the confessor discharged.

However, the king was so far from running into those violences of which people had been apprehensive, that he sought an opportunity of reconciliation with his mother, and entered into a treaty with the duke of Épernon, as between prince and prince. He did not even venture to say in his declaration that the duke of Épernon had given him cause of offence.

But the treaty of reconciliation was hardly signed when it was broken again; this was the true spirit of the times. New parties took up arms in favor of the queen, and always to oppose the duke of

Luines, as before it had been to oppose Marshal d'Ancre, but never against the king. Every favorite at that time drew after him a civil war. Louis and his mother in fact made war against each other. Mary was in Anjou at the head of a small army against her son; they engaged each other on the bridge of Cé, and the kingdom was on the point of ruin.

This confusion made the fortune of the famous Richelieu. He was comptroller of the queen-mother's household, and had supplanted all that princess's confidants, as he afterward did all the king's ministers. His pliable temper and bold disposition must necessarily have acquired him the first rank everywhere, or have proved his ruin. He brought about the agreement between mother and son; and a nomination to the purple, which the queen asked of the king for him, was the reward of his services. The duke of Épernon was the first to lay down arms without making any demands, while the rest made the king pay them for having taken up arms against him.

The queen-mother and the king had an interview at Breisach, where they embraced with a flood of tears, only to quarrel again more violently than ever. The weakness, intrigues, and divisions of the court spread anarchy through the kingdom. All the internal defects with which the state had for a long time been attacked, were now increased, and

those which Henry IV. had removed were revived anew.

The Church suffered greatly, and was still in more disorder than the State.

It was not consistent with the interest of Henry IV. to attempt a reformation; the weak piety of Louis XIII. suffered the disorder to continue. Regularity and decency were first introduced by Louis XIV. Almost all the church livings were in possession of the laity, who hired poor priests to officiate for them. The rich abbeys were all in the hands of the princes of the blood. Some of the church lands were regarded as family estates; an abbey was stipulated for a dowry with a wife, and a colonel recruited his regiment with the revenues of a priory. The court clergy frequently wore the sword, and among the many private and public duels which desolated France, there were several fought by churchmen, from the cardinal of Guise, who drew his sword against Gonzaga, duke of Nevers, in 1617, to the abbot, afterward the cardinal, de Retz, who had several engagements of this kind while he was soliciting the archbishopric of Paris. The minds of men were in general gross and uncultivated. The genius of a Malherbe [1] and a Racan was only a new light, which did not spread itself over the nation.

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[1] Malherbe is considered as the father of French poetry. His works consist of paraphrases of psalms, odes, stanzas, sonnets, and epigrams; and it must be owned that he bears a considerable rank among the lyric poets. He was pat-

A savage pedantry, companion of that ignorance which passed for science, soured the manners of all the public bodies appointed for the education of youth, and even those of the magistracy. It is hardly credible that the Parliament of Paris, in 1621, forbade everyone, under pain of death, teaching anything contrary to the doctrine of Aristotle and the ancient authors; and that one de Clave and his companions were banished from that city for having attempted to maintain theses against the Aristotelian principles, concerning the number of the elements, and matter and form.

Notwithstanding this severity and strictness of manners, the distribution of justice was venal in almost all the courts of the provinces. Henry IV. acknowledged as much to the Parliament of Paris, which had always distinguished itself by its incorruptible integrity, and its constant opposition to the wills of ministers and pecuniary edicts. "I know,"

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ronized by Henry IV. and afterward obtained a pension of five hundred crowns a year from Queen Mary de Medici. He was remarkably blunt in his conversation and address, of a very litigious disposition, and recited his own verses with a very bad grace, hawking and spitting five or six times in repeating every stanza. The cavalier Marini said he never saw such a moist man, and such a dry poet. But he could not bear to be censured for his bad pronunciation. One day when Racan told him he swallowed half of his words, "Z——ds!" said he, "if you plague me at this rate, I'll eat up all my verses; they are my own, for I made them, and I may make of them whatever I please." In point of religion, he was a free-thinker.

said that prince, "that it is not your custom to sell justice, but in other parliaments there is frequently a necessity to support one's cause by dint of money; I recollect it, and have myself often been obliged to pay for it."

The husbandmen were oppressed by the noblesse, who fortified themselves within their castles, mounted on horseback to follow the governor of a province, or attached themselves to the service of those princes who raised commotions in the state. The towns were destitute of police, and the roads impassable, or infested with robbers. The registers of the parliament prove that the Paris watch, appointed for the safety of the city, consisted at that time of forty-five men, who never did service. These disorders, which Henry IV. had not been able to remove, were not, however, in the number of those diseases of the body politic which could destroy it; its truly dangerous maladies were the disorder of the finances; the dissipation of the money raised by Henry IV.; the necessity of levying taxes on the people during a peace, which Henry had exempted them from, even when making preparations for a war of the greatest consequence; the tyrannical methods used in levying these taxes, which only served to enrich the farmers of the revenue; the immense fortunes raised by these farmers, whom the duke of Sully had removed, and who, under the subsequent administration, fattened on the blood of the people.

To these diseases, which impaired the vigor of the

body politic, were added others, which gave it frequent and violent shocks. The governors of provinces, who were only lieutenants under Henry IV., wanted to be independent of Louis XIII. Their privileges, or rather usurpations, were boundless: they disposed of all places; the poorer sort of gentry devoted their services chiefly to them, very little to the king, and still less to the state. Every governor of a province drew sums from his department, for maintaining a body of troops, in the place of those guards which Henry IV. had taken from them. The government of Guienne was worth a million of livres to the duke of Épernon.

We have just seen this duke taking the queen-mother under his protection, making war upon the king, and accepting peace with a haughty pride. Marshal de Lesdiguières had, three years before, in 1616, signalized his own greatness and the weakness of the crown in a still more glorious manner; he raised a real army at his own expense, or rather at that of Dauphiny, the province of which he was not governor, but only lieutenant-general, led his army into the Alps, notwithstanding the positive and repeated prohibition of the court, assisted the duke of Savoy against the Spaniards, though the court had abandoned his cause, and returned home triumphant. France was then as full of powerful nobles as in the reign of Henry III., and this only added to the weakness of the kingdom.

It is not in the least surprising that France should

at that time have let slip the most favorable occasion which had presented itself since the time of Charles V., to limit the power of the house of Austria, by assisting the elector palatine, who was chosen king of Bohemia, and by keeping the balance of Germany agreeable to Henry IV.'s plan, which was afterward followed by cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin. The court had taken too great umbrage at the Huguenots in France to assist or protect the Protestants in Germany. It feared that the reformers would do that in France which their brethren were doing in the empire; but had the government been as powerful and well established as in the reign of Henry IV., in the last year of Richelieu's ministry, or under Louis XIV., it would have assisted the Protestants of Germany, and at the same time have kept those of France in proper subjection. Luines did not conceive these great designs during his administration, and had he conceived them, he was not in a condition to fulfil them. It required a well-respected authority, regularity in the finances, and large armies: all which were wanting.

The divisions of the court, under a king who always wanted to be master, and was always setting a master over himself, spread the spirit of sedition through all the cities of the kingdom. It was impossible that this flame, sooner or later, would not communicate itself to the reformers in France. This was what the court apprehended, and its weakness produced this apprehension; it was sensible that it

would be disobeyed whenever it attempted to command, and it would always command.

In 1620, Louis XIII. annexed Béarn to the crown by a solemn edict; this edict restored to the Catholics those churches of which the Huguenots had taken possession before the reign of Henry IV. and which that monarch had continued to them. The party assembled at La Rochelle, in defiance of the king's prohibition. The love of liberty, so natural to mankind, inspired the reformers at that time with the flattering idea of forming themselves into a republic, in which they were not a little encouraged by the example of their Protestant brethren in Germany. As their imaginations were warmed, they divided the provinces in which they were dispersed into eight circles; each circle had a general as those in Germany. The generals were Marshal de Rouillon; the duke de Soubise; the duke de la Trimouille; Châtillon, grandson of Admiral Coligny, and Marshal de Lesdiguières. The generalissimo to be chosen by them in time of war was to have a seal, with these words *"Pour Christ et pour le roi"*—"For Christ and the king"—that is, against the king. La Rochelle was destined to be the capital of this republic, which would be able to form a state within the kingdom.

The reformers from this instant made preparations for war. They appeared to have been already pretty powerful, since they offered the post of general to Marshal de Lesdiguières, with a salary of one

hundred thousand crowns per month. Lesdiguières, however, who wanted to be constable of France, chose rather to fight against them than to command them, and soon after quitted their religion; but he presently found himself disappointed in his expectations from the court. The duke de Luines, who had never drawn a sword before, now made use of that of constable; and Lesdiguières having advanced too far to retreat, was obliged to serve under Luines, against those of whom he had hitherto been the chief protector.

The court was under the necessity of treating with all the heads of the party, in order to keep them within bounds, and with all the governors of the provinces, to raise troops. Louis then marched toward the Loire, and into Poitou, Béarn, and the southern provinces; the prince of Condé was at the head of a body of Huguenot troops, and Constable de Luines commanded the king's army.

On this occasion an ancient form was revived, which is not now in vogue. When they came near a town commanded by a suspected person, a herald at arms presented himself before the gates, the commanding officer listened to him uncovered, and the herald cried out: "Isaac, or Jacob, such a one, the king, thy sovereign lord and mine, commands thee to open the gates, and to receive him and his army as in duty bound; on failure of which, I declare thee guilty of high treason in all its degrees, thou and thy posterity: thy goods shall be confiscated,

thy houses razed to the ground, and those of all who are assisting or abetting thee."

Almost all the towns opened their gates to the king, excepting that of St. John d'Angeli, whose ramparts he demolished, and the little town of Clérac, which, in 1621, surrendered at discretion. The court, puffed up with this success, caused the consul of Clérac and four ministers to be hanged.

This execution, instead of dismaying the Huguenots, only served to irritate them the more. Pressed on all sides, and deserted by Marshal de Lesdiguières and Marshal de Bouillon, they made choice of the famous duke Benjamin de Rohan for their general, whom they looked upon as the greatest captain of his age; they compared him to the princes of Orange, and thought him equally capable of founding a republic, even more zealous in the cause of religion, at least in appearance, vigilant, indefatigable, never suffering his pleasures to divert him from business, and formed to be the head of a party; a post which is at best but uncertain, and where foes and friends are equally to be feared. The title, the rank, and the qualities of the chief of a party had for a long time been the principal object and study of the ambitious throughout Europe. The Guelphs and Ghibellines had begun it in Italy; the Guises and the Condés had afterward established a kind of school for these politics in France, which continued till the minority of Louis XIV.

Louis XIII. was forced to besiege his own towns.

They thought to succeed before Montauban, as they had done before Clérac; but Constable de Luines lost almost the whole royal army, under his master's eye.

Montauban was one of those towns, which at present would not hold out a siege of four days, and it was so badly invested, that the duke de Rohan threw reinforcements twice into the town, through the besiegers' lines. Marquis de la Force, who commanded in the place, defended himself better than he was attacked. This was that James Nonpar de la Force, who was so miraculously saved when a child, from the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and whom Louis XIII. afterward made marshal of France. The citizens of Montauban, whom the punishment of those of Clérac had inspired with a desperate courage, resolved to bury themselves under the ruins of their town rather than capitulate.

The constable, finding he could not succeed by temporal arms, employed spiritual ones. He sent for a Spanish Carmelite, who was said by his miracles to have assisted the Catholic army of the empire to win the battle of Prague against the Protestants. This friar, whose name was Dominic, came to the king's camp, blessed the army, distributed his *agni* among them, and said to the king: "You shall cause four hundred cannon to be fired against the town, and at the four hundredth Montauban will capitulate." It is probable that four hundred cannon-shot, well directed, might have produced this

effect; Louis ordered them to be fired, Montauban did not surrender, and he was obliged to raise the siege.

This disgrace made the king less respected among the Catholics, and less dreaded by the Huguenots. The constable was hated by everyone: he led the king to avenge the disgrace he had received before Montauban, on a little town of Guienne called Monheur, where a fever put an end to his life, in December, 1621. Every kind of rapine was at that time so common that, as he was dying, he saw his furniture, equipage, and money carried away before his face by his own servants and the soldiers, who hardly left a sheet to cover the corpse of that man who had once been the most powerful in the kingdom; who in one hand held the sword of constable, and in the other the seals of France. He died equally hated by the people and his sovereign.

Louis XIII. was unhappily engaged in a war against one part of his subjects. This war was the work of the duke de Luines, who wanted to keep his master embarrassed, and to be constable. Louis XIII. had been accustomed to consider this war as indispensably necessary. The remonstrances which du Plessis-Mornay, when nearly eighty years of age, made to him on this subject, deserve to be transmitted to posterity. After making use of the most specious reasons he could devise, he wrote thus to him: "A king who makes war upon his subjects, demonstrates his own weakness. Authority consists

in the peaceable obedience of the people, and that is established by the prudence and justice of him who governs. The force of arms is to be employed only against a foreign enemy. The late king would have sent those new ministers of state back to school to learn the elements of politics, who like ignorant surgeons, could propose no other remedies but caustics and amputations; or had presumed to advise him to cut off the diseased limb with that which was sound."

This sound reasoning, however, had no effect on the court. The diseased limb caused too many convulsions in the body, and Louis XIII., who lacked his father's strength of understanding, by which he kept the Protestants within bounds, thought there was no other way to reduce them but by force of arms. He therefore marched into the provinces beyond the Loire, at the head of a small army of about thirteen or fourteen thousand men. He had besides a few bodies of troops in these provinces. The bad state of the finances would not allow of larger armies at that time, and the Huguenots had not a stronger force to oppose him.

Soubise, brother of the duke de Rohan, intrenched himself with eight thousand men in the island of Rhé, which is separated from Poitou by a small arm of the sea, which the king passed at the head of his army at ebb tide, entirely defeating the enemy, and forcing Soubise to fly to England. It was impossible to show greater intrepidity, or to gain a more

complete victory. Louis's only weakness was that of suffering himself to be governed, and this one weakness made him miserable all his life, in his household, his government, his private affairs, and even in his least occupations. As to this victory it only served to furnish the Huguenot chiefs with fresh resources.

They negotiated even more than they fought, as was the case in the time of the League, and in almost all civil wars. More than one rebel lord who had been condemned to lose his life by the parliament, obtained rewards and dignities, while he was executed in effigy. This was what happened to the marquis de la Force, who had driven the royal army from Montauban, and who still kept the field against the king. He had a pension of twenty thousand crowns, and the staff of a marshal of France. The greatest service could not have been better paid than he was for his submission. Châtillon, Coligny's grandson, sold the town of Aigues-Mortes to the king, and was made a marshal. Several sold their obedience in this manner; but Lesdiguières was the only one who sold his religion: he had fortified himself at that time in Dauphiny, where he still professed the reformed religion, and suffered himself to be openly solicited by the Huguenot party, to join them again; thus keeping the king in continual apprehension that he should go over to the faction.

It was proposed in the council either to murder him or make him constable: the king chose the lat-

ter, and then Lesdiguières became in an instant a Catholic, which was necessary, in order to be constable, though not to be marshal of France. Such was the custom, otherwise the constable's sword might as well have been in the hands of a Huguenot, as the superintendency of the finances had for a long time been; but the generals of the army, and the chiefs of the council could not profess the reformed religion while they were fighting against it. This change of religion in Lesdiguières would have been infamous in a private man, who had only a small interest to answer; but the greater objects of ambition are strangers to shame.

Louis XIII. then was obliged to be perpetually buying servants and treating with rebels. He laid siege to Montpellier; and fearing to meet with the same disgrace as he had done before Montauban, he consented to be received into the town, only on condition of confirming the Edict of Nantes, and all the privileges granted to the Protestants. It is probable that if he had left all the other Protestant towns in the possession of their privileges, and had followed the advice of du Plessis-Mornay, he might have saved himself this war; and it is evident that notwithstanding his victory at Rhé, he gained very little by carrying it on.

The duke de Rohan finding that everyone was making terms, made his also. It was he who prevailed on the inhabitants of Montpellier to receive the king into their town. He set on foot, and

concluded, the general peace with Constable Lesdiguières, at Privas. The king rewarded him, as he had done the rest, and gave him the duchy of Valois as a pledge.

Everything remained on the same footing as before the taking up of arms; so that the king and the kingdom were at great expense to gain nothing. In the course of this war there were some few unhappy citizens hanged, and the heads of the rebellion were rewarded.

Louis's council was as much distracted during this civil war as the state itself. The prince of Condé, who accompanied the king everywhere, wanted to have the government of both army and state. The ministers were divided among themselves, and they had pressed the king to give the constable's sword to Lesdiguières, only in order to lessen the prince of Condé's authority. This prince, wearied with the continual opposition he had to encounter in the cabinet, went to Rome as soon as the peace was concluded, to have the pope make the post which he possessed hereditary to his house. He might have transmitted them to his children without the brief which he applied for, and which he could not obtain. It was with difficulty that he could even get the title of highness given him at Rome, and all the cardinal priests took the upper hand of him without ceremony. This was all the fruit of his journey to Rome.

The court, delivered from the burden of a ruinous

and unprofitable civil war, became a prey to fresh intrigues. The ministers were all declared enemies to one another, and the king equally distrusted them all.

It appeared plainly after the death of Luines, that it had been he rather than the king who had persecuted the queen-mother: for no sooner was that favorite deceased, than she was placed at the head of the council. This princess, in order to confirm her reassumed authority, resolved to introduce her favorite, Cardinal Richelieu, into the council. He was the comptroller of her household, and she had procured the purple for him, and never ceased pressing the king to admit him into the ministry. Almost all the memoirs of those times take notice of the king's extreme repugnance to grant this request. He treated as an impostor the person in whom he afterward placed all his confidence, and even reflected upon his moral character.

This prince, who was a scrupulous devotee, and naturally distrustful, had somewhat more than an aversion to the cardinal on account of his gallantries, which were indeed too barefaced, and even ridiculous. He would dress at times like a cavalier, and after writing tracts of divinity, go courting in a hat and feather. De Retz tells us, in his memoirs, that he added pedantry to these fopperies: but you have no occasion for de Retz's testimony, since you have seen the love-theses maintained by Richelieu's orders in his niece's apartments, after the form of the

theses of divinity maintained in the college of the Sorbonne. The memoirs of those times also inform us that he raised his insolent desires, real or feigned, even to the person of the queen-consort, Anne of Austria, from whom he received such biting raillery as he never forgave. I relate these anecdotes because they had an influence on great events. In the first place they show us that, in this famous cardinal, the follies of the man of gallantry took nothing from the greatness of the statesman, and that the littlenesses of private life may be compatible with the heroism of a public station. In the second place, they serve as a kind of demonstration that the political will which has been published in his name, could never have been of his framing. It was not possible that Cardinal Richelieu, who was so well known to Louis XIII. for his amorous intrigues, and as the public gallant of Marion Delorme, could have had the front to recommend chastity to so chaste a prince as Louis, who was at that time forty years old, and overwhelmed with diseases.

So great was the king's repugnance to admit him into the ministry that the queen-mother was obliged to gain over the comptroller, la Vieuville, who was then the minister of most credit, and who feared Richelieu even more than Louis did. At length he was admitted into the cabinet, against the inclination of the king and of the ministers; but he had not the first place in rank there, that being occupied by

Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld, nor yet in credit, for la Vieuville continued to hold that for some time; he had no department, no superiority over the other ministers. "He desired only," says the queen-mother in one of her letters to the king, her son, "to come sometimes to council." In this manner did he pass some months upon his first introduction into the ministry.

I must again remark that I am sensible that these minute particulars are in themselves beneath your notice, and should be lost in greater events; but here they are necessary to overturn a false notion which has so long prevailed with the public, that Cardinal Richelieu was prime minister, and absolute master of the council. It is this erroneous opinion which has made the pretended author of the political will say: "When your majesty determined to honor me at the same time with a seat in your council and a great share of your confidence, I then promised to use all my endeavors to humble the pride of the great, to extirpate the Huguenots, and to raise your reputation in all foreign nations."

It is manifest that Cardinal Richelieu could never have expressed himself in this manner, since he had not the king's confidence at first, not to mention how imprudent it would have been in a minister to have begun his harangue by telling his master: "I will raise your reputation;" which was giving him to understand that his reputation was low. I shall pass over the multitude of reasons which prove

beyond contradiction that the political will attributed to Cardinal Richelieu neither is nor could have been his, and shall now return to his administration.

What was afterward said in relation to the mausoleum erected to his memory in the Sorbonne, "*magnum disputandi argumentum*," is the true character of his genius and actions. It is very difficult to know a man of whom his flatterers have said so much good, and his enemies so much ill. He had at once to defend himself against the house of Austria, the Protestants, the grandees of the kingdom, the queen-mother, the king's brother, the queen-consort, to whom he had the insolence to pay his addresses; and lastly, the king himself, to whom he was always necessary and always hateful. It was natural for his enemies to endeavor to defame him by libels; to these he opposed panegyrics, neither of which are deserving of our belief. We are to represent to ourselves facts.

To make ourselves as certain of these as possible, it is necessary to choose proper writers. For example, what is to be thought of the author of "The Life of Father Joseph," who quotes a letter of the cardinal's to this famous Capuchin, written, as he says, immediately upon his entrance into the council? "As you are the principal agent whom God has employed to bring me to those honors to which I now see myself raised, I look upon myself as bound to acquaint you that the king has been pleased to confer

on me the office of prime minister, at the queen's entreaty."

The cardinal did not receive his patent for prime minister till 1629; and Friar Joseph neither brought him to those honors, nor did he conduct him through them.

Books are but too full of such forgeries, and it is no small labor to separate truth from falsehood. Let us then take a summary view of the stormy ministry, or rather reign of Cardinal de Richelieu.

CHAPTER CXLVI.

ADMINISTRATION OF CARDINAL DE RICHELIEU.

The comptroller, la Vieuville, who had lent a hand to raise Cardinal de Richelieu to the ministry, was the first crushed by him, about six months after his elevation. He was privately accused of misdemeanors, to which every comptroller is liable.

La Vieuville owed his greatness to Chancellor Sillery, and had been the cause of his disgrace. He was now ruined in his turn by the person who owed his advancement to him. These vicissitudes, which are so common in all courts, were more so in that of Louis XIII. than in any other. La Vieuville was confined in the castle of Amboise: he had set on foot a treaty of marriage between the princess Henrietta, sister of Louis XIII., and Charles, prince of Wales, who was soon afterward king of Great Britain. The cardinal put the finishing hand to this treaty, not-

withstanding the opposition of the courts of Rome and Madrid.

He secretly favored the Protestants in Germany; but this did not in the least abate his intention of ruining those in France.

Before he came into the ministry, they had vainly treated with all the Italian princes, to hinder the house of Austria, which was at that time so powerful, from remaining in possession of the Valtelline.

This little province, which was then of the Catholic communion, belonged to the Grison leaguers, who were Protestants. The Spaniards wanted to join these valleys to the duchy of Milan. The duke of Savoy and the Venetians, in concert with France, strenuously opposed all addition of power to the house of Austria in Italy. At length Pope Urban VIII. had the sequestration of this province placed in his hands, and was not without hope of keeping it altogether.

Monsieur de Marquemont wrote a long letter to Cardinal Richelieu, in which he set forth all the difficulties attending this affair. The latter answered him by the following famous epistle: "The king has changed his council, and the ministry its maxims: an army will be sent to the Valtelline, which will make his holiness less wavering, and the Spaniard more tractable." Accordingly, the marquis of Cœuvres was immediately sent to the Valtelline, at the head of an army. No respect was shown to the pope's colors, and the country was freed from

the Austrian invasion. This was the first event which rendered France of some consideration abroad.

Under the former administration there had been a continual complaint of want of money; but now enough was found to assist the Hollanders with a loan of three million two hundred thousand livres to put them in a condition to carry on the war against the Spanish branch of Austria, their ancient sovereign. A sum was also sent to the famous Count Mansfeld,[1] who almost singly supported the cause

[1] This was Ernest, son of Peter Ernest III., count of Mansfeld: he was bred a Roman Catholic at the court of Brussels, under his godfather, the archduke Ernest of Austria, and afterward served the king of Spain in the Low Countries, as well as the emperor in Hungary. About 1610 he quitted the Austrian service in disgust, embraced Calvinism, and engaged in the service of the Protestant princes. He was undoubtedly the most celebrated partisan of the age in which he lived; for though he was generally defeated in pitched battles, he always found resources, by means of which he rendered himself a very formidable enemy. He was famous for surprising towns, routing detachments, traversing provinces, and extricating himself from the most dangerous difficulties. Never was there a captain more indefatigable and undaunted, more patient of hunger, cold, and fatigue, more dexterous at raising armies, or more fruitful in all the expedients of war. His friends called him the Ulysses of Germany, his enemies styled him the Attila of Christendom. He introduced the custom of letting troops for hire; and kept them up at such a price that the Dutch used to say of him, "*bonus in auxilio, carus in pretio.*" Being defeated at Dessau by Wallenstein, the imperial general, he retired with his cavalry into the march of Brandenburg,

of the palatine family and of the Protestants, against the imperial house.

It was natural to expect that after assisting the Protestants abroad, the Spanish ministry would stir up those in France, and repay them — as Mirabel, the Spanish minister, said — the money that had been lent to the Hollanders. Accordingly, the Huguenots, protected and paid by Spain, renewed the civil war in France. It had been the standing maxim of politics among the Catholic princes ever since the time of Charles V. and Francis I. to assist the Protestants in one another's kingdoms, and to persecute them at home. During this new war against the duke de Rohan and his party, the cardinal still went on negotiating with those powers he had insulted; and neither Ferdinand II. nor King Philip IV. attempted anything against France.

La Rochelle began now to become powerful. It had at that time almost as good a fleet as the king. It wanted to follow the example of the Dutch, and might have succeeded, had it found among the

and in a little time assembled another army of twenty-five thousand men, with which he advanced into Hungary, with a view to join Bethlen-Gabor; but this prince having made his peace with the emperor, left Mansfeld's troops to perish of cold and famine among the mountains. The count being extremely chagrined, and finding his health impaired, gave up the remainder of his army to the duke of Saxe-Weimar, and set out on his journey to Venice; but was overtaken by death at a village in Dalmatia. Perceiving his end near, he caused himself to be armed, and being held up by his attendants, died standing, in 1626.

nations of its own faith an ally able or willing to furnish it with proper assistance: but Cardinal Richelieu took care in the first place to set the Dutch against it, who from the interest of religion should have assisted it; and likewise the English, who, from interests of state, were under a stronger obligation to defend it. The money that had already been given to the United Provinces, and what was promised, prevailed on them to equip a fleet against those whom they called their brethren: thus, in 1625, the Catholic king assisted the French Protestants with money, and the Dutch Protestants fought for the Roman Catholic religion; while Cardinal Richelieu was driving the pope's troops from the Valtelline in favor of the Grison Huguenots.

It is a matter of surprise that Soubise, at the head of La Rochelle's fleet, should venture to attack the Dutch fleet off the isle of Rhé, and gain an advantage over those who passed for the best seamen in the world. This success would at any other time have made La Rochelle an established and powerful republic.

Louis XIII. had a good admiral, but no fleet. The cardinal, on coming to the ministry, found everything in need of remodelling or repair. It was impossible for him in the short space of a year to establish a navy. It was with difficulty that he could even equip ten or twelve small men of war. The duke of Montmorency, who had afterward so tragical an end, was at that time admiral; he was

obliged to go on board the Dutch admiral's ship; and it was with the Dutch and English ships that he beat La Rochelle's fleet.

This victory showed how necessary it was for France to make itself powerful both by sea and land, while it had the Huguenot party to suppress at home, and the Austrian power to undermine in Europe. The ministry then granted a peace to the Huguenots, in order to have time to strengthen itself.

Cardinal Richelieu had still more powerful enemies to encounter at court. Not one of the princes of the blood liked him. Gaston of Orleans, the king's brother, hated him mortally. Mary de Medici began to look upon the creature of her raising with jealousy. All the grandees caballed against him.

In 1626, he took the place of admiral from the duke of Montmorency, to bestow it on himself under another name, and by this he made another irreconcilable enemy. Two sons of Henry IV., Cæsar of Vendôme, and the grand prior, attempted to oppose him; he had them confined in the castle of Vincennes. Marshal d'Ornano and Talleyrand Chalais, stirred up Gaston, the king's brother, against him. He caused them to be accused of a design against the king himself. In this accusation he included the duke of Soissons, Gaston, and the queen-consort.

One time the conspirators were accused of a plot to take away the king's life, at another, of a design of declaring him impotent, shutting him up in a

cloister, and giving his crown and wife to his brother Gaston. These two accusations manifestly contradicted each other, and neither the one nor the other was possible. Their real crime was that of having joined to oppose the minister, and of having talked of taking away his life. The commissioners passed sentence of death upon Chalais, and he was executed at Nantes. Marshal d'Ornano died in his confinement at Vincennes: the count of Soissons fled to Italy: the duchess of Chevreuse, to whom the cardinal had formerly paid his addresses, but whom he now accused of having joined in the cabal against him, escaped with difficulty from the guards, who were sent to arrest her, and fled to England. Anne of Austria was summoned before the council, forbidden to speak to any man, except in the presence of the king, and compelled to sign an acknowledgment of her guilt.

Distrust, fear, and desolation had now taken possession of the royal family and the whole court. Louis was now the most unhappy man in his kingdom; he was in continual apprehension of his wife and brother, uneasy in his mother's presence, whom he had formerly used so ill, and who every now and then let fall hints of her not having forgotten it; and still more perplexed with the cardinal, whose yoke he already began to feel. The critical situation of affairs abroad was a fresh subject of uneasiness to him, and he found himself unavoidably linked to the cardinal by his fears and perplexities, by the

necessity he was under of suppressing the cabals in his court, and of preserving his credit with other nations.

Three ministers, equally powerful, were at that time in a manner masters of the fate of Europe; Olivarez in Spain, Buckingham in England, and Richelieu in France. They had all three a natural hatred to, and were at once negotiating against, one another. Cardinal Richelieu quarrelled with the duke of Buckingham, at the very time that the English were supplying him with a fleet against the Rochellers, and joined with the count-duke Olivarez at the time that he was depriving the king of Spain of the Valtelline.

Of these three ministers the duke of Buckingham passed for the least politic. He shone as a favorite and a nobleman, was liberal, open, and daring, but was not a statesman. The mastery he had gained over Charles I. was not owing to his intrigues, but to that ascendency which he had had over the father, and which he still retained over the son. He was the handsomest man of his time, the most generous, and the most proud. He fancied that no woman could resist the charms of his person, nor man the superiority of his understanding. Intoxicated with this double self-love, he had carried Charles, while prince of Wales, into Spain, to marry the infanta, and that he himself might make a figure at that court. Here, by adding the Spanish gallantry to his own assurance, he attacked the wife of the prime minister,

Olivarez, and by this indiscreet action hindered the prince's marriage. Being sent to France in 1625, to conduct the princess Henrietta to England, whom he had procured for King Charles I., he was again on the point of making this design miscarry by an indiscretion of a still bolder nature: he made a declaration to Queen Anne of Austria, and made no secret of his passion for that princess, though he could expect nothing from this adventure but the vain honor of having dared to explain himself. The queen, who had been brought up in notions of gallantry, which were then allowed in Spain, looked upon the duke of Buckingham's rashness only as a homage paid to her beauty, which could not offend her virtue.

The pomp assumed by the duke of Buckingham was very displeasing to the court of France, though without making him ridiculous; for greatness and assurance are not regarded in that light. He conducted Princess Henrietta to London, and carried back with him in his heart a passion for the queen, which was increased by the vanity of having declared it. This same vanity led him to venture upon a second voyage to the court of France. The pretext was to make a treaty with the cardinal against Olivarez, as the cardinal had before made a treaty with Olivarez against him. The true reason was, to be nearer the queen, which he sufficiently showed by all his behavior; however, he was not only refused permission to see her, but the king

discharged several of his wife's servants whom he suspected of favoring the duke of Buckingham's designs. This Englishman then, on his return home, caused war to be declared against France, for no other reason than that he had been refused leave to declare his unjust passion. This adventure has the appearance of those in the times of knight-errantry. So oddly are the affairs of the world connected, that the romantic amours of the duke of Buckingham produced a religious war, and the taking of La Rochelle.

The leader of a party takes advantage of all circumstances. The duke de Rohan, whose designs were as deep as those of Buckingham were weak and shallow, made use of this Englishman's resentment to obtain a fleet of a hundred armed ships and transports,[1] and engaged the Rochellers, who with the rest of the party were then at peace, to receive a fleet of English ships not in the harbor of La Rochelle, but in the isle of Rhé. Buckingham himself made a descent upon the island, in July, 1627, with about

[1] The seventh article of the duke's impeachment by the house of commons imports: "That he, the said duke, as admiral, did by indirect and subtle practices procure one of the principal ships of his majesty's navy-royal called the *Vanguard,* and six other merchant ships, to be put into the hands of the French king." To this charge he replied: "The article was so mixed with actions of great princes, that he dared not in his duty publish every passage thereof; but he could affirm that those ships were lent to the French king at first without his privity; and when he knew it, he did that which belonged to an admiral of England, and

seven thousand men. He had only a small fort to take to make himself master of the island, and separate La Rochelle forever from France. The Huguenot party would then have become unconquerable. The kingdom was divided, and all the mighty projects of Cardinal Richelieu would have vanished into air, had the duke of Buckingham been only half as great, or at least as fortunate, a warrior as he was a bold and enterprising man.

The marquis, afterward marshal, de Thoiras, saved the reputation of France by holding the isle of Rhé with a small body of troops against the superior force of the English, and gave Louis XIII. time to send an army before La Rochelle. The command was at first given to the king's brother, Gaston; but the king soon joined it in person, accompanied by the cardinal. Buckingham was obliged to return to England, after having lost half his army, without being able to throw any reinforcements into La Rochelle, where his appearance had only served to hasten its ruin. The duke de Rohan, who had instigated the Rochellers to take up arms, was absent from the town, and engaged in carrying on the war in Languedoc, against the prince of Condé and the duke of Montmorency.

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a true Englishman." One cause assigned for the war which the king this very year declared against France was, the Most Christian king's employing against his Protestant subjects of La Rochelle, the English ships which were lent by treaty, expressly on condition that they should only assist the French on the coast of Italy.

All three generals were fighting for their own interest: the duke de Rohan to continue himself at the head of a party; the prince of Condé at the head of the king's army, and to recover his credit at court, and the duke of Montmorency to keep the command of the troops which he had raised on his own authority, to make himself master in Languedoc, of which he was governor, and to raise an independent fortune, as Lesdiguières had done. La Rochelle then had only itself to depend upon. The citizens, animated by religion and liberty, those two powerful motives with the populace, elected one Guiton their mayor, who was, if anything, rather more determined than themselves. This man, before he would accept an office which gave him the chief command both in civil and military affairs, took a poniard, and holding it in his hand, "I accept," said he, "the place of your mayor, only on condition of striking this poniard to the heart of the first who shall talk of surrendering; and that it be in like manner used against me, if ever I think of capitulating."

While La Rochelle was thus preparing for the most obstinate resistance, Cardinal Richelieu made use of every resource to reduce it, by building ships with the most surprising expedition, procuring a reinforcement of men and artillery, and even assistance from Spain, by taking a speedy advantage of the animosity between Olivarez and Buckingham, employing the cause of religion, and making the most specious promises, and obtaining a fleet from

the king of Spain, at that time the natural enemy to France. To take from the Rochellers all hope of assistance from England, the count-duke sent Frederick of Toledo with forty sail before the port of La Rochelle.

The Spanish admiral arrived; but would one believe that these reinforcements were rendered useless by a mere matter of ceremony, and that Louis XIII. suffered the Spanish fleet to return home because he would not permit its admiral to be covered in his presence? Whether an affair of so much importance was determined by this trivial circumstance, as too frequently happens, or whether the court of Spain had taken umbrage at some new disputes relating to the Mantuan succession, its fleet simply appeared and returned.

The duke of Buckingham was fitting out a new armament to deliver the town, and he might in a very short time have rendered all the efforts of the French king fruitless. It has always been the opinion of the court, that Cardinal Richelieu warded off this blow by taking advantage of Buckingham's passion for Anne of Austria, and that he prevailed upon the queen to write to that duke. It is said that she requested him to suspend the embarkation of his troops for a little time; and that Buckingham suffered his weakness to prevail over his honor and reputation.

This anecdote may possibly be false; but it has gained so much credit that we cannot dispense with

relating it; it is perfectly agreeable to the known character of Buckingham, and the spirit of court politics at that time; and we cannot otherwise account for Buckingham's contenting himself with sending only a few vessels, which showed themselves before the town to no purpose, and returned to their own ports.

It is no less astonishing to see the cardinal commanding alone at this siege, after the king's return to Paris. He had a general's commission, and this was his first essay in the military art. He now gave proofs that resolution and genius can overcome all things, being as exact in preserving discipline among the troops as he was careful in establishing a good police in Paris, and both were equally difficult. La Rochelle could not be reduced so long as its port was open to the English fleet; it was therefore necessary to shut it up by subduing the sea. In the foregoing civil war, when Louis XIII. designed besieging this place, just as the peace was concluded, one Pompeio Targoni, an Italian engineer, had contrived a barricade to keep out the sea. The cardinal followed this plan, but the sea soon threw down the works. He, not in the least discouraged, began them anew. He carried a mole, nearly seven thousand four hundred feet in length, into the sea; this was destroyed by the winds: nevertheless he still persisted, and having his Quintus Curtius with him, with the description of the mole which Alexander the Great raised across the harbor of Tyre, he set his people to work again;

and at length, by the labor and vigilance of Metesan and Tercan, two French engineers, the mole was put into a condition to resist the winds and waves.

Louis XIII. now repaired in person to the siege, and remained there from the month of March, 1628, till the place was reduced. He was frequently present at the attacks, and encouraged his officers by his example, and hastened the finishing of the great work of the mole. Yet still they were in apprehension of the arrival of another English fleet, which would destroy all they had been about. Fortune, however, favored their undertakings. Buckingham, when just ready to sail with a formidable fleet to the assistance of La Rochelle, in September, 1628, was stabbed by an Irish fanatic,[1] without its being ever discovered who instigated the act.

Nevertheless La Rochelle, though destitute of

[1] This was John Felton, who had been lieutenant of infantry, and disappointed in his expectation of a captain's commission. He certainly was a fanatic; but, in this case, his revenge seems to have co-operated with his enthusiasm. The duke was walking with Sir Thomas Frier through an entry from one apartment to another, when Felton stabbed him with a knife, which he left sticking in the wound. Buckingham exclaimed: "The villain hath killed me!" and, pulling out the knife, dropped dead on the floor. The assassin might have escaped; but he seemed to glory in his crime, and surrendered himself immediately to justice. He had pinned on the lining of his hat an inscription, declaring that his only motive to this action was the late remonstrance of the commons against the duke: for he thought he could not sacrifice his life in a nobler cause than in delivering his country from such an enemy.

assistance and even of provisions, still maintained a courageous defence. The citizens were inspired by the example of the mother and sister of the duke de Rohan, who suffered the greatest extremity of want in common with the rest. As some unhappy wretches, ready to expire with hunger, were bewailing their calamitous situation before Mayor Guiton, he told them that if one man only was left alive, he ought to keep the gates fast.

The besieged found their hope somewhat revived at sight of the fleet which had been fitted out by Buckingham, and which now appeared under the command of Admiral Lindsey. The English were not able to break through the mole, and their ships were scattered by forty large pieces of cannon, which had been mounted on a wooden fort built in the sea. Louis was in person in this fort, and exposed himself to the fire of the enemy's fleet, which was obliged to retire, after finding all its efforts to relieve the town ineffectual.

Famine at length subdued the courage of the Rochellers; and, after a year's siege, which they had sustained by themselves, they were obliged to surrender, notwithstanding the mayor's poniard, which always lay upon the table in the town hall, ready to pierce the heart of him who should mention a capitulation. And here it may not be improper to remark, that neither Louis XIII. as king, Cardinal Richelieu as minister, nor the marshals of France as officers of the crown, signed the articles of capit-

ulation, but only two field-marshals. La Rochelle was only deprived of its privileges, and no one lost his life. The Roman Catholic religion was established in the town, and the country round about, and the inhabitants were left to their Calvinism, as the only thing which they had remaining.

The cardinal was determined not to leave his work unfinished; he marched into the other provinces of the kingdom, where the reformers had several strongholds, and where their numbers were still formidable. He knew that he must subdue and disarm the Huguenot party entirely, before he could be at liberty to employ his whole strength against the house of Austria in Germany, Flanders, Italy, and Spain. It was requisite that the state should be in unity and peace at home, in order to disturb the quiet of other states.

The interesting affair of giving a duke to Mantua, who might be dependent on France instead of Spain, after the death of the last prince, had already invited the arms of France into Italy. Gustavus Adolphus at the same time was meditating the invasion of Germany, and he was to be supported.

In this intricate situation of affairs the duke de Rohan, who still continued firm amidst the ruins of his party, made a treaty with the king of Spain, who promised to give him assistance, after having furnished aid against him the very year before. Philip IV., after consulting his council of conscience, promised a yearly pension of thirty thousand ducats to the

chief of the Huguenot party in France; but the money came slowly, and the king's troops laid all Languedoc waste. Privas was given up to plunder, and all who were found in it slain. The duke de Rohan, unable to carry on the war, still found means to make a general peace for his party on as good terms as he could; and the man who had but lately entered into a treaty with the king of Spain, in quality of head of a party, now treated in the same character with the king of France, his master, at the very time that he stood condemned by the parliament as a rebel; and, after having received money from the Spanish court to maintain his troops, he demanded and received one hundred thousand crowns from Louis XIII. to complete their pay and dismiss them.

The other Protestant towns in France had the same treatment as La Rochelle; their fortifications were demolished, and they were deprived of all those privileges which might prove dangerous; they were allowed liberty of conscience, and the use of their churches, municipal laws, and chambers of edicts, which could not do any hurt. Everything was appeased; and the powerful Calvinistic party, instead of establishing a state, was disarmed and depressed beyond recovery. Switzerland and Holland were not so powerful as this party when they erected themselves into independent sovereignties; Geneva, which was far less considerable, made itself free, and continued so; and yet the Protestants of

France fell in the attempt. The reason was that the party itself was scattered in its provinces; that one half of the people and the parliaments were Catholics; that the royal army sent against them found their country open and defenceless; that they were attacked by troops much superior and better disciplined than their own; and lastly, that they had to deal with Cardinal Richelieu.

Louis XIII., whose character is not sufficiently known, never gained so much personal reputation as at this juncture; for, after the taking of La Rochelle, while his armies were reducing the Hungarians to obedience, he supported his allies in Italy; he marched over the Alps to the assistance of the duke of Mantua, in March, 1629, in the midst of a severe winter, forced three barricades in the pass of Susa, made himself master of that town, obliged the duke of Savoy to join him, and drove the Spaniards out of Casale.

In the meanwhile Cardinal Richelieu was treating with all the crowned heads of Europe, and against the greater part of them. He sent a Capuchin friar to the Diet of Ratisbon, to impose upon the Germans, and to keep the emperor from meddling in the affairs of Italy. At the same time Charnasse was employed to encourage Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, to invade Germany; a project to which Gustavus was already very well disposed. While Richelieu was thus trying to shake all Europe, the cabal of the king's brother and the two queens vainly attempted

to ruin him at court. His great credit occasioned as much disturbance in the cabinet as his intrigues excited disorders in other kingdoms. We must not suppose that these commotions at court were the effects of a deep policy or well-concerted designs, which united a party skilfully formed for overthrowing him, and raising a person in his room worthy of succeeding him. These fatal divisions were for the most part produced by a humor which frequently governs men, even in the greatest affairs. The queen-mother, though she still kept her place in the council, and had been regent of the provinces on this side the Loire during her son's expedition to La Rochelle, was exasperated against the cardinal, who affected to appear no longer dependent on her. The memorial drawn up in defence of this princess takes notice that the cardinal coming one day to pay his court to her, and her majesty inquiring after his health, he replied, with his eyes flaming with anger, and his lips trembling: "I am better than some here would wish me to be." The queen expressed her indignation at his insolence: the cardinal flew into a passion; he afterward asked pardon, and the queen grew pacified; and two days afterward they quarrelled again, that policy which sometimes subdues the passions in the cabinet not being always master in conversation.

Mary de Medici at that time took from the cardinal the place of comptroller of her household. The first fruit of this quarrel was the patent for prime

minister, which the king made out with his own hand, on Nov. 21, 1629, and addressed to him, extolling his valor and magnanimity, and leaving a blank space for the salary of the office, to be filled up by the cardinal himself. He was already high admiral of France, under the title of comptroller of navigation; and, after depriving the Huguenots of their strongholds, he secured to himself Saumur, Angers, Honfleur, Havre-de-Grâce, and the isles of Oléron and Rhé, which became so many precautionary places in his hands against his enemies. He was attended by guards, and his pomp eclipsed that of the crown: he was accompanied with all the exteriors of royalty, and all authority was vested in him.

The situation of affairs in Europe made him more necessary than ever to his master and the state; Emperor Ferdinand II., since the battle of Prague, had made himself despotic in Germany, and was very powerful in Italy. His troops were at that time besieging Mantua; Savoy was wavering between France and the house of Austria; the marquis of Spinola was in the duchy of Milan with a Spanish army. The cardinal resolved to oppose Spinola himself; he procured a patent creating him generalissimo of the army destined for Italy, and the king, in this patent, ordered the same obedience to be paid to him as to his own person. Thus this prime minister exercising the office of constable, and having under him two marshals of France, marched into Savoy in 1630. He entered into a treaty on his

march; but in the character of a crowned head, and insisted upon the duke's coming to Lyons to meet him; this, however, was refused. The French army took Chambéry and Pinerolo in two days. At length the king himself set out for Savoy, taking with him the two queens, his brother, and a whole court, declared enemies to the cardinal, who only arrived to be witnesses to his triumphs. The cardinal came to Grenoble to meet the king, and they marched together into Savoy. Louis XIII. was seized with an epidemic disorder, and returned to Lyons. At this juncture the duke of Montmorency, with a handful of men, gained a signal victory over the conjoined army of Imperialists, Spaniards, and Savoyards, at Vegliana, and wounded and took prisoner with his own hand General Doria. This action crowned him with glory, and the king wrote to him in these terms: "I think myself as much obliged to you as a king can be to a subject." This obligation, however, did not prevent this great man from being brought to the scaffold two years later.

There was nothing less than such a victory required to support the interest and reputation of France, at a time that the Imperialists had taken and sacked Mantua, were pursuing the duke, whom Louis XIII. protected, and had beaten the Venetians, his allies. The cardinal, whose greatest enemies were those he had at court, left the duke of Montmorency to fight against the enemies of the kingdom, and applied himself to observe the motions of

those he himself had about the king. This monarch was then dangerously ill at Lyons, insomuch that his life was despaired of. The confidants of the queen-consort, who were too hasty, already began to propose to Gaston to marry his brother's wife, who was in all appearance on the point of becoming a widow. The cardinal made preparations for retiring to Avignon. The king recovered, and those who had founded their hopes on his death were confounded. The cardinal followed him to Paris, where he found more intrigues than there were in Italy, among the empire, Spain, Venice, Savoy, Rome, and France.

Mirabel, the Spanish ambassador, had joined with the two queens against him. The two brothers, Marillac, the one marshal of France, and the other keeper of the seals, who were indebted to him for their preferments, flattered themselves with the hope of ruining him, and succeeding in his credit. The marshal of Bassompierre, without pretending to anything, was in their secret. The king's first valet de chambre, Beringhen, communicated to the cabal all that passed in the king's apartment. The queen-mother a second time deprived the cardinal of his place of comptroller of her household, which she had been obliged to restore to him; an office which the cardinal looked upon as beneath his dignity and pride, but which that pride would not suffer him to lose. His niece, afterward duchess of Aiguillon, was dismissed; and Mary de Medici, by dint of reit-

erated entreaties and complaints, obtained her son's promise to divest him of the ministry.

There was nothing more in these intrigues than what we every day meet with in the houses of private persons who have a great number of servants; they were common trifles; but here the fate of France, and even of Europe, depended on them. The private treaties with the Italian princes, with Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden; with the United Provinces and the princes of Orange, against the emperor and Spain, were in the hands of Richelieu, and could not be taken from him without endangering the state. Nevertheless, the king's weakness, with the inward dislike he had taken to the cardinal on account of his superiority, determined him to give up this necessary minister, and, overcome by the obstinate solicitations and tears of his mother, he promised to disgrace him. The cardinal entered by a back door into the room where they were concluding his ruin; the king rose and left the apartment without speaking to him; he now looked upon himself as lost, and prepared for a retreat to Havre-de-Grâce, as he had a few months before done to retire to Avignon. His ruin appeared the more certain, as the king, on Nov. 10, 1630, gave Marshal de Marillac, the cardinal's declared enemy, power to make peace and war in Piedmont. Then the cardinal prepared in earnest for his departure; he had already sent his riches twenty-five leagues off, on mules, with orders not to pass through any town, a pre-

caution he had taken against the hatred of the populace. His friends advised him to try one effort more with the king.

The cardinal accordingly went to the king at Versailles, which was at that time a small hunting seat which Louis XIII. had bought for twenty thousand crowns, and which has since been made one of the noblest palaces in Europe. The king, who had sacrificed his minister through weakness, by the same weakness puts himself again into his hands, and gives up to him all those who had plotted his ruin. This day, which still goes by the name of the Day of Dupes, fixed the cardinal's absolute power. The very next morning the keeper of the seals was arrested and committed prisoner to Châteaudun, where he died of grief. The same day the cardinal despatched a messenger of state, in the king's name, to the two marshals, de la Force and Schomberg, with orders to arrest Marshal de Marillac, at the head of the army of which he was going to take the sole command. The messenger arrived an hour after the marshal had received the news of Richelieu's disgrace, and he found himself a prisoner in the very instant that he thought himself master of the state, in conjunction with his brother. Richelieu resolved to bring this general to an ignominious death by the hand of the executioner, for extortion: the trial lasted nearly two years. We must here relate the consequences that attended it, to avoid breaking in upon the thread of this affair, and to

show what revenge can effect when armed with supreme power, and colored with the appearances of justice.

The cardinal was not satisfied with depriving the marshal of the right of being tried by the courts of parliament assembled, a right which had been so often violated, nor with having appointed commissioners to try him at Verdun, on whose severity he thought he might depend. These first judges having, notwithstanding the threats and promises used to work upon them, agreed to admit the criminal to justify himself; the cardinal annulled the sentence, and appointed other judges, among whom were Marillac's most inveterate enemies; in particular Paul Hay du Chastelet, known by the bitter satire he wrote against the two brothers. Never was greater contempt shown to the forms of justice and common decency than by the cardinal on this occasion, who had the prisoner removed to his own country house, where the trial was carried on in his presence.

It is expressly forbidden by the laws of the kingdom to detain anyone prisoner in a private house; but there were no laws against powerful revenge. The laws of the Church were as little respected as those of the State and of decency. The new keeper of the seals, Châteauneuf, who had lately succeeded the prisoner's brother, sat as president of the court, where decency forbade his appearance; and though a sub-deacon, and possessed of benefices, he pre-

sided at a criminal process; the cardinal had procured a dispensation from Rome, in virtue of which he had the power of passing sentence of death.

This trial shows us that the lives of the unfortunate depend on a desire of pleasing men in power. The most minute actions of the marshal's life were inquired into. They pretended to have discovered some abuses in the exercise of his command, some illicit though customary profits, which he had formerly made either by himself or his servants, in building the citadel of Verdun. "It is an unheard-of thing," said he to his judges, "that a man of my rank should be prosecuted with so much rigor and injustice; my whole trial relates to nothing but hay, straw, stones, and lime."

Nevertheless, this general, covered with wounds, and bending beneath the servitude of forty years, was condemned to die, under the same king who had bestowed rewards on thirty subjects who had been in open rebellion against him.

During the first preparations for this strange trial, the cardinal ordered Beringhen to leave the kingdom, and imprisoned all those who had attempted to overthrow him, or of whom he had the least suspicion. This display of a revenge as mean as cruel seemed little to agree with a mind occupied with the fate of Europe.

At that time he concluded with Gustavus Adolphus against Frederick II. that treaty which was intended to shake the imperial throne. It cost

CARDINAL RICHELIEU

France only three hundred thousand livres a year to sow divisions in Germany, and to oppress both emperors at once till the Peace of Westphalia; and Gustavus Adolphus had already entered upon the course of his victories, which gave France all the time and liberty it could desire to establish its greatness, and to secure its own peace by the troubles of other nations; but the minister, by his want of moderation, excited the public hatred against him, and made his enemies implacable. Gaston, duke of Orleans, the king's brother, fled from court to his appanage of Orleans, and thence to Lorraine, protesting that he would never set foot in the kingdom so long as the cardinal, the persecutor of himself and his mother, continued at the helm of affairs. Richelieu caused all the friends and adherents of the duke to be declared guilty of high treason, by a decree of council. This decree was sent to the parliament to be registered; the voices were divided on this occasion. The king, incensed at this division, sent for the parliament to the Louvre, who went thither on foot, and addressed the king upon their knees. The act of division was torn before their faces, and three of the principal members were banished.

The cardinal was not contented with supporting his authority, now connected with that of his master, in this arbitrary manner. Having forced the presumptive heir of the crown to fly the kingdom, he made no scruple of causing the queen-mother to be

put under arrest. This was a delicate undertaking, considering that the king had already repented of his behavior to his mother, and of having sacrificed her to a favorite. The cardinal made use of arguments of state to stifle the voice of nature in the king, and set all the engines of religion to work to quiet his scruples. On this occasion, he employed the talents of Father Joseph du Tremblay, a Capuchin, as extraordinary a personage in his way as Richelieu himself; he was a cunning enthusiast, who could occasionally be either the fanatic or the impostor, and who attempted at one and the same time to set up a crusade against the Turks, to found the order of the Nuns of Mount Calvary, to turn poet and negotiator, and to raise himself to the purple and the ministry. This man, being admitted into one of the private councils of conscience invented to do evil under the appearance of good, undertook to prove to the king that he not only might, but should put it out of his mother's power to oppose his minister. The court was then at Compiègne; the king quitted it, in February, 1631, and left his mother surrounded with guards, who prevented her from stirring. Her friends, servants, and even her own physician, were sent to the Bastille and other prisons. The Bastille was always full during this administration; Marshal de Bassompierre, only for being suspected of not being in the cardinal's interest, was shut up there during the life of that minister.

Mary never saw her son again, nor did she see Paris more, that city which she had beautified with the famous palace called the Luxembourg, with noble aqueducts unknown till her time, and with the fine public walk which still goes by the name of the Queen's. Continually a prey to favorites, she passed the rest of her days in a voluntary but unhappy exile. The widow of Henry the Great, the mother of a king of France, and the mother-in-law of three crowned heads, sometimes lacked the necessaries of life. The foundation of all these quarrels was, that Louis XIII. would be governed, and that he chose rather to be governed by his minister than his mother.

This queen, who had so long governed the kingdom, fled first to Brussels; and, from her asylum there, called to her son and the supreme courts of the kingdom for justice against her enemy. She became a petitioner to that parliament whose remonstrances she had so often rejected while regent, and sent back from her presence to confine themselves to the trial of causes: so strongly does our way of thinking change with our fortunes. Her petition is still to be seen in these terms: "The petition of Mary, queen of France and Navarre, showeth, that, since February 23, she has been detained prisoner in the castle of Compiègne, without being accused or suspected of," etc. The repeated complaints preferred against the cardinal by the queen's friends lost great part of their force by being too strongly

urged, and because those who dictated them for her, by mingling their own grievances with her sorrows, joined too many false accusations with the true ones; in short, she only added to her misfortunes by complaining of them.

The minister answered the queen's representations against him by having himself created a duke and peer, and appointed governor of Brittany, in 1631. Everything seconded his wishes, not only in the kingdom, but also in Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands. Julius Mazarin, who had been employed by the pope as his minister in the affair of Mantua, was now the minister of France on account of his happy dexterity in negotiations; and, by serving Cardinal Richelieu, he, without foreseeing it, laid the foundation of that fortune which made him that minister's successor. An advantageous treaty had lately been made with Savoy, by which that state ceded Pinerolo forever to France.

In the Low Countries the prince of Orange, by the assistance of the money he received from the French court, made several conquests over the Spaniards, and the cardinal had intelligence even in Brussels.

In Germany the extraordinary success of Gustavus' arms contributed to augment the merit of the cardinal's services in France. In a word, the uninterrupted prosperity of his administration deprived all his enemies of the power to hurt him, and left him at full liberty to pursue his revenge, which the good of the state seemed to authorize. He erected

a court of justice, which passed sentence against all the friends and adherents of the queen-mother and the king's brother. The number of proscribed was prodigious; not a day passed without seeing gibbets loaded with the figures in effigy of those of both sexes who had followed the fortunes, or shared in the councils of the two royal exiles; search was made after some physicians and drawers of nativities, who had said that the king had not long to live, and two were actually sent to the galleys. In short, the queen-mother's estates, and even her dowry, were confiscated; she thereupon wrote thus to her son: "I am not willing to charge you with the seizure of my estates, nor the inventory which has been taken of them, as if I was already dead; I can never believe that you would deprive her of nourishment who gave you your life."

The whole kingdom murmured at these proceedings, but no one dared to speak out. Those who would have taken part with the queen-mother and the duke of Orleans were withheld by their fears. The marshal duke de Montmorency, who was governor of Languedoc, was the only one who at that time thought himself sufficiently powerful to withstand the cardinal's fortune, and to set himself up as the head of a party; but his great courage was not alone sufficient to support this dangerous part. He was not master of two provinces, like Lesdiguières, who had found means to make himself absolute in Dauphiny; his prodigality had put it out of his

power to purchase a number of dependents, and his love of pleasure and amusement did not suffer him to attend wholly to business. In a word, to be the head of a party, he should have had a party, but he had none.

Gaston gave him the flattering title of "avenger of the royal family." They thought themselves sure of the assistance of Charles IV., duke of Lorraine, whose sister the duke of Orleans had married; but Charles could not defend himself against Louis, who had already made himself master of part of his dominions. The court of Spain gave the king's brother hopes of an army in the Netherlands and at Trier, to lead into France; but he with difficulty got together three thousand German horsemen, whom he could not pay, and who lived entirely on plunder. It was supposed that as soon as he appeared in France with this handful of men, all the nation was to join him; instead of which, not one stirred in his favor during his whole march, from the borders of Franche-Comté to the provinces of the Loire, and as far as Languedoc. He hoped likewise that the duke d'Épernon, who had marched over the whole kingdom to deliver the queen, and who had carried on a war, and afterward concluded a peace in her favor, would now declare for that queen whose cause he had so warmly supported, and for one of her sons, the presumptive heir of the crown, against a minister, whose pride had so frequently mortified his own. This resource,

however, powerful as it seemed, failed as others had done. The duke d'Épernon, who had almost ruined himself in assisting the queen-mother, complained of having been neglected by her, after such essential services. He hated the cardinal more than any person living, but at the same time he began to fear him.

The prince of Condé, who had engaged in a war to oppose Marshal d'Ancre when minister of state, was far from thinking of declaring against Richelieu; he yielded to this minister's genius, and solely intent upon making his own fortune, solicited the command of the army on the other side the Loire, against his brother-in-law, Montmorency. The count of Soissons had then only an impotent hatred for the cardinal, and did not dare to declare himself.

The duke of Orleans, thus deserted, only because he was not strong enough, traversed the kingdom more like a fugitive at the head of foreign banditti than a prince marching to give battle to a king. At length he came to Languedoc, where he was joined by the duke of Montmorency with six or seven thousand men, which he called an army, and which he had raised partly at his own expense and partly by promises. Discord, which always insinuates itself into parties, weakened these forces almost as soon as they were gathered together. The duke of Elbeuf, Gaston's favorite, wanted to share the command with Montmorency, who had been at all

the charge and trouble, and was in his own province.

The very day of the battle of Castelnaudary, Sept. 1, 1631, was opened by a dispute between Gaston and Montmorency. This could hardly be called a battle; it was an encounter, a skirmish, in which the latter duke fell upon a small detachment of the royal army, commanded by Marshal Schomberg; and, whether through his natural impetuosity, through vexation and despair, or from having drunk too freely, which was but too common at that time, he leaped a large ditch, followed only by five or six of his people. This was fighting like the old knights-errant, and not like a general. After breaking through several of the enemy's ranks, he fell to the ground wounded, and was taken in sight of the duke of Orleans and his little army, who made not the least motion to assist him.

There was another of Henry IV.'s sons present at this battle besides Gaston; this was the count of Moret, the natural issue of that monarch and Mademoiselle de Beuil, who ventured his person more than the lawful heir, and would not quit Montmorency, but was slain fighting by his side. This is the count of Moret whom report afterward brought to life and made a hermit; an idle story which was blended with these fatal events.

The taking of Montmorency totally dispirited Gaston, and dispersed the army which he owed wholly to that nobleman.

The prince had now nothing left but to submit. The court sent Bullion, counsellor of state and comptroller of the finances, to him, with a promise of Montmorency's pardon. Nevertheless, this pardon was not stipulated in the treaty the king made with his brother, or rather the amnesty he granted him; it is not acting nobly to deceive the weak and unfortunate; but the cardinal was bent upon humbling the king's brother, and putting Montmorency to death. Gaston himself promised in an article of this treaty to love Cardinal Richelieu.

The fatal end of Montmorency [1] is well known. His punishment was just, though that of Marshal de Marillac had not been so. But the death of so hopeful an officer, who, by his great courage, generosity, and amiable qualifications, had gained the love and esteem of all France, made the cardinal more odious than that of Marillac had done. It has been said that, when he was committed to prison, a bracelet was found on his arm with the picture of Mary de Medici. This circumstance always passed for certain with the court, and is perfectly agreeable to the spirit of the times. Madame de Motteville,

[1] He was tried at Toulouse before commissioners, of whom the chief was an ecclesiastic, Monsieur de l'Aubespine de Châteauneuf, who obtained a dispensation from the pope for being present as judge at a trial for life: but this dispensation could not screen him from the guilt of ingratitude, in condemning a nobleman to whose father he had been page. The duke de Montmorency was beheaded at Toulouse on Oct. 30, 1631, and fell universally regretted, as the most accomplished and amiable nobleman in France.

that princess' confidante, acknowledges in her memoirs that the duke of Montmorency had, like Buckingham, prided himself in being touched by her charms. It was the Spanish *galantería,* somewhat like the Italian *cicisbei,* reminders of chivalry, which, however, did not at all contribute to abate the severity of Louis XIII. Montmorency, before he went to his death, Oct. 30, 1631, bequeathed a famous picture of Caracci to the cardinal. This was not the spirit of the times, but a new turn of thinking inspired by the approach of death, and looked upon by some as an instance of Christian magnanimity, and by others as weakness.

The king's brother, after returning to France only to see his friend and protector die upon the scaffold, and himself banished from the court, and in hourly apprehension for his liberty, once more left the kingdom, and fled to Spain, then joined his mother in Brussels.

Under any other administration, a queen and the presumptive heir of the crown, fled for refuge in an enemy's country, the general discontent that prevailed among all orders of the state, and the blood of a hundred families to be avenged, would have distracted the kingdom under the new circumstances in which Europe then was. Gustavus Adolphus, the scourge of the house of Austria, had been killed on Nov. 16, 1632, in the battle of Lützen, near Leipsic, in the midst of his victories; and the emperor, freed from that powerful enemy, might, in

conjunction with Spain, have overwhelmed France; but for the first time the Swedes maintained themselves in a strange country even after the death of their chief. Germany was also a prey to the same bloody troubles as before, and the Spanish monarchy was every day growing weaker. All cabals then must necessarily sink beneath the cardinal's power, and yet not a day passed without intrigues and factions, of which he was the chief cause himself, by those private weaknesses which are always intermingled with important affairs; and which, in spite of the artifices used to disguise them, disclose the littleness of grandeur. It is pretended that the duchess of Chevreuse, who was always intriguing and still preserved her charms, had by her artifices drawn in the cardinal to have that passion for her with which she wanted to inspire him, and that she made a sacrifice of him to Châteauneuf, the keeper of the seals. Commander de Jars and others had also a share in her confidence. Queen Anne, Louis's consort, had no other consolation in the loss of her credit at court, but that of assisting the duchess of Chevreuse to make contemptible him whom she could not otherwise destroy. The duchess pretended to have an inclination for the cardinal, and formed her intrigues in expectation of his death, which frequent disorders had made seem as near as she could wish.

In 1633 the keeper of the seals was imprisoned without form of trial, because they could not bring

him to trial. Commander de Jars and others who were accused of maintaining a secret correspondence with the queen-mother and the duke of Orleans, were condemned by commissioners to be beheaded. The commander was pardoned upon the scaffold, but the others were executed.

Not only those who were suspected or accused of being in the interest of the duke of Orleans were persecuted, but Charles IV., duke of Lorraine, was made a victim of the cardinal's designs. Louis having made himself master of Nancy in 1635, promised to restore the duke his capital, provided he would put his sister Margaret, who had been privately married to his brother Gaston, into his hands. This match was the source of new disputes and quarrels in the Church and the State: these disputes were of a nature to bring about a great revolution; no less than the succession to the crown was concerned, and there had not happened so important a matter of controversy since that about the Salic law.

The king insisted that his brother's marriage with Margaret of Lorraine should be annulled; and by that means, if a prince should be born of this marriage, he wanted to have this prince, his nephew and heir to the kingdom, declared a bastard, and incapable of inheriting. The marriage of the duke of Orleans had been celebrated in the presence of witnesses, authorized by the father and all the relatives of his wife, consummated, and legally acknowledged by all parties, and solemnly confirmed

by the archbishop of Malines. This marriage was regarded as valid and indissoluble by the whole court of Rome, and all the foreign universities; and even the family of Lorraine declared that it was not in the pope's power to annul it, and that it was an unalterable sacrament.

The welfare of the state required that the princes of the blood should not be allowed to dispose of themselves without the king's will. The same reason might hereafter require them to acknowledge as lawful king of France the issue of this marriage, now declared unlawful, but this danger was not imminent; the voice of present interest prevailed, and it became necessary, notwithstanding the opinion of the Church, that a sacrament like that of marriage should be annulled, if it had not received the previous assent of him who was in the place of father of the family.

An edict of the council did that which Rome and the council had never done; and the king went with the cardinal to the Parliament of Paris in September, 1634, to have it verified. The cardinal spoke at the bed of justice in character of prime minister and peer of France. You may frame some idea of the eloquence of those times from two or three passages in the cardinal's harangue; he said that to convert a soul was more than to create a world; that the king no more dared to touch his mother than he did the ark; and again, that there never happen more than two or three relapses in acute diseases,

unless the noble parts are injured. Almost all his harangue was in this style, and yet it was perhaps as good as any that was delivered at that time. This bad taste which then prevailed was no abasement of the minister's genius; and the spirit of government has at all times been found compatible with false eloquence and false wit. The marriage of the duke of Orleans was solemnly annulled, and even the general assembly of the clergy, in 1635, in conformity with the edict, declared all marriages contracted by the princes of the blood, without the king's consent, to be null and void. The see of Rome, however, did not confirm this law of the Church and State of France.

The situation of the royal family of France became the point of controversy in all Europe. If the presumptive heir to the crown of that kingdom persisted in maintaining the marriage which had been annulled by this law, the children born of that marriage were bastards in France, and could not succeed to their inheritance without a civil war: if he took another wife, the children born of this marriage were bastards at Rome, and would raise a civil war against the children of the first.

The duke of Orleans by his resolution, of which this was the only example, prevented things being brought to such extremities; and a few years afterward the king consented to acknowledge his brother's wife. But that part of the edict which renders null the marriages contracted by the princes

of the blood without the king's consent remains still in force.

This obstinacy of the cardinal, in pushing his revenge against the prince, even to his domestic affairs, in taking from him his wife, in stripping his brother-in-law, the duke of Lorraine, of his dominions, and in keeping the queen-mother in exile and indigence, at length roused the friends of the royal refugees, who entered into a plot to assassinate him. Father Chanteloube, a priest of the oratory, and almoner to Mary de Medici, was juridically accused of having hired murderers, one of whom was broken on the wheel at Metz. There were but few of these attempts; many more had been made against the life of Henry IV., but fanaticism produces greater crimes than the most inveterate hatred.

The cardinal, who was much better guarded than Henry IV., had nothing to fear, and he triumphed over all his enemies. The little court of the queen-mother and the duke of Orleans, which was wandering and desolate, was filled with dissensions and factions, which always attend misfortune.

Richelieu had more powerful enemies to oppose. He resolved, notwithstanding the secret troubles which preyed upon the vitals of the kingdom, to establish the power and reputation of France abroad, and to complete the grand scheme of Henry IV., by making open war with the whole house of Austria, in Germany, Italy, and Spain. By this war he rendered himself necessary to a master who did

not love him, and with whom his enemies were incessantly laboring to ruin him. His reputation was concerned in this undertaking, as the time seemed to be ripe for crushing the Austrian power, now on its decline. Picardy and Champagne were still the limits of France; these limits might be enlarged while the Swedes were still in the empire. The United Provinces were ready to attack the king of Spain in Flanders, provided they could depend upon the least assistance from France. These were the sole motives of the war against the emperor, which continued till the Treaty of Westphalia; and of that against Spain, which lasted for a long time after, till ended by the Treaty of the Pyrenees. All other reasons were only pretences.

The court of France had hitherto endeavored to take advantage of the troubles of Germany, under the title of ally to the Swedes, and mediators in the empire. The Swedes had lost the great battle at Nördlingen, and even their defeat proved serviceable to France, as it brought them to be dependent on that kingdom. Chancellor Oxenstiern came to Compiègne, to do homage to the cardinal's fortune, who was now master of affairs in Germany, which had before been in the chancellor's hands. At the same time he made a treaty with the states-general, to share with them the Spanish Netherlands, which he looked upon as an easy conquest.

Louis XIII. sent a herald-at-arms to Brussels to declare war. This herald was to present a cartel

of defiance to the cardinal-infante, son of Philip III., who was at that time governor of the Low Countries. It is to be observed that this cardinal-prince, agreeable to the customs of those times, had the command of the army, and was one of the chiefs who gained the battle of Nördlingen against the Swedes. In this age we see Cardinals Richelieu, de la Valette, and Sourdis putting on armor and marching at the head of armies. All these customs are now changed. This was the last declaration of war made by a herald-at-arms; since that time each party has thought it sufficient to publish it at home, without sending into the enemy's country to declare it.

Cardinal Richelieu drew the duke of Savoy and the duke of Parma into this alliance: he also made sure of Bernard, duke of Saxe-Weimar, by giving him a pension of four millions of livres a year, and promising him the landgravate of Alsace. None of these events, however, answered the political views with which they were framed. Alsace, which was to be given to Weimar, fell some time later into the hands of France; and Louis XIII., who was in one campaign to share the Spanish Netherlands with the Dutch, lost his army in 1636, and was very near seeing all Picardy fall a prey to the Spaniards. They had actually taken Corbie; and the count of Galas, the imperial general, and the duke of Lorraine, were in the neighborhood of Dijon. The French army were at first unsuccessful on all sides, and stood in

need of the greatest efforts to resist those whom they thought to beat so easily.

In a word, the cardinal saw himself in a very short time on the point of being ruined by that very war which he had raised for the establishment of his own greatness and that of France. His power at court suffered for some time by the failure of public affairs. The duke of Orleans, whose life was a perpetual reflux of quarrels and reconciliations with the king, had returned to France; and the cardinal was obliged to resign the command of the army to this prince and the count of Soissons, who retook Corbie. He now saw himself exposed to the resentment of these two princes. This was a time of conspiracies and duels, as I have already observed. The same persons who afterward, in conjunction with Cardinal de Retz, brought about the first troubles of the Fronde, and were concerned in the barricades, from that time took every opportunity of exercising that factious spirit with which they were devoured. Gaston and the count of Soissons countenanced them in all their attempts against the cardinal. It was resolved to assassinate him even in the king's presence: but the duke of Orleans, who always did things by halves, terrified at the attempt, neglected to give the signal which had been agreed on by the conspirators.

The Imperialists were driven out of Burgundy, and the Spaniards from Picardy. The duke of Weimar was successful in Alsace, and made himself

master of almost all that landgravate which the court of France had guaranteed to him. In fine, after a series of greater advantages than there had been losses, fortune, which preserved the cardinal's life from so many plots against it, preserved his reputation also, which depended on success.

This love of glory impelled him to gain the first place in the empire of wit and learning, even in the most critical situation of national affairs and his own, and in the midst of those attempts to which his life was continually exposed. He erected the French Academy in 1637, and exhibited theatrical pieces in his own palace, in the composition of which he himself had sometimes a share. As soon as the danger was past, he resumed all his wonted pride and fierceness: for it was at this very time that he fomented the first troubles of England, and that he wrote that note which was the forerunner of all the misfortunes of Charles I.: "Before a year has elapsed, the king of England will find that I am not to be despised."

When, in 1638, the prince of Condé was obliged to raise the siege of Fontarabia, after his army was beaten, and the duke de la Valette was accused of not having properly assisted him, he caused that duke, who had fled, to be condemned by a court of commissioners, at which the king himself presided. This was an ancient custom in the constitution of the peerage, when kings were looked upon only as the heads of the peers: but under a government purely monarchial, the presence and opinion of the sov-

ereign had too much influence on the opinions of the judges.

This war of the cardinal's raising was not fully successful till the complete victory gained by the duke of Weimar over the Imperialists, in which he took four generals of the empire prisoners, took possession of Freiburg and Breisach; and till at length the Spanish branch of the house of Austria lost Portugal by the only successful conspiracy which had happened in those times; and afterward lost Catalonia by an open revolt, toward the end of 1640. But before fortune had disposed all these extraordinary events in favor of France, the country was exposed to ruin. The troops began to be ill-paid; Grotius, who was ambassador from Sweden to the court of Paris, says that the finances were badly managed. His observation is very just; for the cardinal was obliged, some time after the loss of Corbie, to create twenty-four new counsellors of the parliament, and one president. Certainly there was no want of new judges, and it was shameful to create them merely for the sake of raising money by the sale of their places. The parliament accordingly complained of it; and all the answer they received was that the cardinal imprisoned five of its magistrates who had represented their grievances like men of spirit. Everyone who dared to oppose him at court, in the parliament, or in the armies, was disgraced, banished, or imprisoned.

Louis XIII. always stood in need of a confidant

called a favorite, who was capable of amusing his melancholy disposition, and of being the depository of his uneasinesses. This post was occupied by the duke of St. Simon; but not having taken sufficient care to keep well with the cardinal, he was driven from court, and banished to Blaye.

The king sometimes devoted himself to the fair sex: he was fond of Mademoiselle de la Fayette, maid of honor to the queen, so far as a weak, scrupulous, and indifferent person could be said to love. The Jesuit, Caussin, the king's confessor, countenanced this connection, as it might prove instrumental in procuring the queen-mother's return. Mademoiselle de la Fayette, at the same time that she encouraged the king's passion, was in the interest of the two queens against the cardinal: but the minister soon prevailed over the mistress and the confessor, as he had done over the two queens. Mademoiselle de la Fayette, through fear of his resentment, immured herself into a convent, and soon afterward — in 1637 — Father Caussin was arrested and sent into banishment in Lower Brittany.

Christina, duchess of Savoy, daughter of Henry IV., widow of Louis Amadeus, and regent of Savoy, had also a Jesuit confessor, who caballed against the court of France, and exasperated his royal penitent against the cardinal. That minister, preferring revenge and the interest of the state to the law of nations, made no scruple of seizing the Jesuit in the

duchess' dominions. The queen consort herself was treated like a common culprit, for having written to the duchess of Chevreuse, who was the cardinal's enemy, and had fled the kingdom. Her papers were seized, and she herself obliged to undergo an examination before Chancellor Séguier.

All these particulars form a faithful portrait of this minister. The same man seemed made to lord it over all the family of the great king, Henry IV., to persecute his widow in foreign countries; to ill-use his son Gaston; to raise factions against his daughter, the queen of England; and lastly, to humble Louis XIII. by making him powerful, and his wife tremble. Thus he passed his whole administration in raising the public hatred and revenging himself; and every year produced new rebellions, and new punishments. The revolt of the count of Soissons was the most dangerous. It was supported by the duke of Bouillon, son of the marshal of that name, who received him into Sedan; by the duke of Guise, grandson to Balafré, who, with the courage of his ancestors, resolved to restore the fortunes of his house; and lastly, by the king of Spain, who furnished him with money and troops from the Low Countries.

The count of Soissons, and the duke of Bouillon had a good army and knew how to conduct it; and for the greater security, it was resolved, while the army was advancing, to assassinate the cardinal and make an insurrection at Paris. Cardinal de Retz, who was at that time very young, served his

first apprenticeship to conspiracies in this plot. The battle of Marfée, gained by the count of Soissons over the king's troops near Sedan, would have greatly encouraged the conspirators; but the death of that prince, who was killed in the engagement, again extricated the cardinal from this new danger. It was now for once out of his power to punish; for he did not know of the conspiracy against his life, and the rebel army was victorious. He therefore found it necessary to enter into a treaty with the duke of Bouillon, who was in possession of Sedan. The duke of Guise, the same who afterward made himself master of Naples, was the only one who suffered on this occasion, being condemned for contumacy in the Parliament of Paris.

The duke of Bouillon, who was restored to favor at court, and outwardly reconciled to the cardinal, swore fidelity, and at the same time formed a new conspiracy. As everyone who was about the king hated his minister, and as the king could not be without a favorite, Richelieu himself gave him one in the person of young Essiat Cinq-Mars, that he might have a creature of his own about the throne. This young man, who was soon made master of the horse, wanted to be in the council, and the cardinal, who would not suffer it, had immediately an irreconcilable enemy in him. What the more emboldened Cinq-Mars to plot against him was the king's own behavior, who being frequently displeased with his minister, and offended with his pride and state, used

to impart his dislike to his favorite, whom he always called his "Dear Friend," and spoke in such sharp terms against Richelieu, that it encouraged Cinq-Mars to propose to his majesty several times to have him assassinated. This is proved by a letter which Louis XIII. himself wrote to Chancellor Séguier. But the king afterward took such a dislike to his favorite that he frequently banished him from his presence; so that Cinq-Mars conceived an equal hatred for Louis and his minister. He had engaged in a correspondence with the count of Soissons before his death, and continued to carry it on with the duke of Bouillon; and the king's brother, who after his many unsuccessful schemes, remained quiet in his appanage of Blois, grown weary at length of a life of idleness, and being importuned by the conspirators, entered into the confederacy. His chief object in all his undertakings was the cardinal's death, a scheme which had been frequently attempted and as often frustrated.

Louis XIII. and Richelieu, who were at that time both attacked by a disorder which was more dangerous than conspiracies, and which soon brought them both to the grave, marched together into Roussillon, in 1642, to divest the house of Austria forever of that province. The duke of Bouillon, whom they should not have intrusted with a command, just after having been in arms against the king, was at the head of an army in Piedmont, against the Spaniards, and at that very time was plotting

with the king's brother and Cinq-Mars. The conspirators made a treaty with Spain for a body of troops to be sent into France in order to throw everything into confusion during a regency, which they looked upon as very near, and of which everyone hoped to take advantage. Cinq-Mars, who at that time had followed the king into Narbonne, was more in his good graces than ever; and Richelieu, who was ill at Tarascon, had lost all his credit, and kept his ground only by being necessary.

The cardinal's good fortune would have it that this plot also should be discovered; a copy of the treaty fell into his hands. This cost Cinq-Mars his life. There was an anecdote handed about by the courtiers of those days, that the king, who was frequently wont to call the master of his horse his "Dear Friend," pulled out his watch at the hour appointed for his execution, and turning to those about him said: "I fancy my Dear Friend makes a very bad figure just now." The duke of Bouillon was put under arrest at the head of his army at Casale. He saved his life because they wanted his principality of Sedan more than his life: and he who had twice betrayed the state, preserved his dignity of prince, and in exchange for Sedan, had lands of a much greater value given him. De Thou, whose only fault was having been privy to the conspiracy, which he at the same time disapproved, was condemned to die for not having revealed it, notwithstanding that he pleaded in excuse that he could not

have been able to prove a deposition of that kind, and that he should have been much more deserving of death had he accused the king's brother of a crime against the state, without sufficient evidence to make good his charge. This obvious justification was not allowed by the cardinal, who was his mortal enemy. The judges condemned him upon a law made by Louis XI., whose name is alone sufficient to prove it to have been a cruel one. The queen herself was privy to the plot; but not being accused, she escaped the mortifications she must otherwise have suffered. As to Gaston, duke of Orleans, he, as usual, impeached his accomplices, and humbled himself, consenting to remain at Blois without guards, or any other of the honors belonging to his dignity; it had been always his fate to bring his friends to a prison or a scaffold.

The cardinal displayed all his haughty rigor in his revenge authorized by justice. He carried the master of the horse after him from Tarascon to Lyons on the Rhone, in a boat fastened to the stern of that in which he himself was; and, though struck with death himself, exulting in the fall of him who was going to suffer by the hand of the executioner. From there the cardinal was carried to Paris upon the shoulders of his guards, in a large litter, where two men could stand by his bedside: a breach was made in the walls of the towns through which he passed, in order to give him a more commodious entrance. He died on Dec. 4, 1642, at the age of

fifty-eight, leaving the king pleased with being rid of him, and yet perplexed with being his own master. It is said that this minister governed after his death, because some vacant places were filled with those of his nomination: but the commissions had been made out before his death; and what proves beyond contradiction that he had already governed too long and had lost his power is, that all those whom he had shut up in the Bastille were released as soon as he was dead, as victims who were no longer to be sacrificed to his vengeance. He left the king three millions of our money, at fifty livres to the mark, which sum he always kept by him in reserve. The expense of his household after he came to be prime minister amounted to a thousand crowns a day. Everything about him was splendid and stately; whereas, in the king's family, all was plain and simple. His guards attended him to the room door whenever he went to his master. He took precedence of all the princes of the blood; he wanted nothing but the crown; and even while he lay on his deathbed, and still entertained hopes of surviving the king, he took measures for being made regent of the kingdom. Henry IV.'s widow died about five months before him, and Louis XIII. followed him about five months later.

It was difficult to say which of the three was most unhappy. The queen-mother, after having been long a wanderer, died very poor in Cologne. The son, though master of a noble kingdom, tasted

neither the sweets of greatness, if it affords any, nor those of society; he was always under a yoke, and always endeavoring to shake it off; in poor health, gloomy, melancholy, and insupportable even to himself; he had not one servant who loved him, he distrusted his own wife, was hated by his brother, deserted by his mistresses, without having experienced the pleasures of love, betrayed by his favorites, and abandoned on the throne. The condition of the meanest of his subjects who lived in peace was infinitely preferable to his.

The cardinal was perhaps the most unhappy of the three, because he was the most hated; and that, though never in good health, he was obliged to support an immense burden with hands imbrued in blood.

In these times of conspiracies and punishments the kingdom was in a flourishing condition; and, notwithstanding the troubles which prevailed, the age of politeness and the liberal arts began to dawn. Louis XIII. contributed nothing toward this change; it was chiefly owing to the care and industry of Cardinal Richelieu. Philosophy, indeed, could not as yet shake off the rust of the schools; but Corneille in 1635 began that famous era of science, known by the name of "The Age of Louis XIV.," by his incomparable tragedy of "The Cid;" Le Poussin equalled Raphael d'Urbin in some parts of painting. Sculpture was soon brought to perfection by Girardon, as may be seen by Riche-

lieu's monument. The French began to make themselves esteemed everywhere by their agreeable and polite manners. In a word, this was the dawn of good taste. The nation was not yet what it became afterward; neither was trade so well cultivated, nor the general police established. The inner parts of the kingdom were yet to be regulated. Paris was the only handsome city, and that lacked many necessary things, as we shall see hereafter in the "Age of Louis XIV." The manner of living, as well as the dress of those times, was in every respect different from what it is at present; insomuch that, were the people of our days to see those of that time, they would not think they saw their fathers. The buskins, the doublet, the cloak, the large ruff, the whiskers, and the little pointed beard would render them as strange to us as their passion for plots, their eagerness for duels, their tavern debaucheries, and their universal ignorance, notwithstanding their natural good sense.

The nation was not so rich as it has since become, either in coined specie or wrought silver; and though the administration drew all it could from the people, it was not able to raise over one-half the annual income of Louis XIV. They were also inferior to us in the riches of industry. The coarse cloth manufactures of Rouen and Elbeuf were the finest then known in France: there was no tapestry, crystal, nor plate glass. The art of watch-making was but in its infancy, and consisted in putting a string upon the fusee of a watch, pendulums not

being then invented. The maritime commerce in the seaports of the Levant was ten times less than it is at present; that of America consisted only in a few furs from Canada; they sent no ships to the East Indies, while the Dutch had large kingdoms there, and the English very considerable settlements.

Consequently there was much less money in the nation than there is at present; the government borrowed at higher interest: the least it gave for annuities at Cardinal Richelieu's death was seven and a half per cent. This may serve as an incontestable proof among many others, that the "Political Will" said to have been made by that minister could not be his. The ignorant and absurd impostor who has forged his name says in the first chapter of the second part, that the possession of these annuities brings in the first purchase money in seven years and a half: he has taken the seventh penny for seven and a half per cent., and does not perceive that the reimbursement of a capital in seven years and a half instead of giving seven and a half, gives fourteen per cent. The whole of what he says throughout this chapter shows him to be equally as ignorant of the first elements of arithmetic as he is of state affairs. I enter into this short detail only to show how mankind may be imposed on by a name: so long as this work of darkness passed for Cardinal Richelieu's, it was extolled for a masterpiece; but those who have discovered this to be a forgery have found it full of errors and falsehoods.

CHAPTER CXLVII.

SPAIN, FROM THE REIGN OF PHILIP II. TILL THAT OF PHILIP IV.

We have seen that, after the death of Philip II., the Spanish monarchs confirmed their absolute power in their own dominions, and insensibly lost their authority in Europe. This decline began to manifest itself in the first year of the reign of Philip III., the weakness of whose character communicated itself to all parts of his administration. It was difficult to extend a constant and equal care and vigilance to the vast possessions in Asia, Africa, America, Italy, and the Netherlands; but his father had overcome these difficulties, and the riches of Mexico, Peru, the Brazils, and the East Indies might have empowered his son to overcome all obstacles. But there was such a remissness in the administration, and such treachery in the management of the public revenues that in the war against the United Provinces there was not money sufficient to pay the Spanish troops, who thereupon mutinied and deserted, to the number of three thousand, over to Prince Maurice. A private stadtholder by a prudent economy was able to pay his troops better than the sovereign of so many kingdoms. Philip III. might have covered the ocean with his fleets, and yet the small provinces of Holland and Zealand were superior to him at sea. With their fleet they took from him the principal

Molucca islands, particularly that of Amboina, which has, ever since 1606, continued in the possession of the Dutch. In a word, these seven small provinces baffled all the forces of this vast monarchy by land, and made themselves superior by sea.

Philip III., though at peace with France and England, and engaged only in this one war, with a newly formed republic, was obliged, in 1609, to conclude a truce of twelve years with it, and to leave it in possession of all it had taken from him; to secure to it its trade in the great Indies; and finally, to restore to the house of Nassau all the possessions it had situated in the lands of the Spanish monarchy. Henry IV. had the glory of concluding this truce by his ambassadors. It is generally the weaker side that asks a truce, and yet Prince Maurice would not apply for one: it was even more difficult to get his consent than that of the king of Spain.

The expulsion of the Moors was still more prejudicial to the monarchy. Philip III. could not crush an inconsiderable number of Hollanders, and yet he was unfortunate enough to be able to expel between six and seven hundred thousand Moors from his dominions. These remains of the ancient conquerors of Spain were for the most part destitute of arms, employed wholly in trade and agriculture, far less formidable in Spain than the Protestants were in France, and much more useful, because they were laborious in a country given up to idleness. They were obliged

to put on the appearance of being Christians: the Inquisition persecuted them without ceasing; this persecution occasioned some few insurrections, but they were very weak and easily quelled. Henry IV. intended to take these people under his protection; but his correspondence with them was discovered by a clerk of the office for foreign affairs; and this discovery occasioned their dispersion. It had already been resolved to drive them out of the kingdom. They made an offer of two millions of gold ducats for permission to breathe the air of Spain, but in vain; the council was inflexible. Twenty thousand of these proscribed wretches took refuge among the mountains; but having no other arms than slings and stones they were soon put to the rout. Two whole years were taken up in transporting subjects out of the kingdom, and depopulating the state. Philip thus deprived himself of the most laborious part of his subjects, instead of imitating the Turks, who knew how to keep the Greeks under proper subjection, without obliging them to seek for settlements in foreign countries.

The greater part of these Spanish Moors took refuge in Africa, their ancient country; some removed to France during the regency of Mary de Medici; those who would not renounce their religion embarked from the ports of that kingdom for Tunis; a few families, who embraced the Christian faith, settled in Provence and Languedoc, and some in Paris, where Moors were not unknown: but at

length these refugees were incorporated with the rest of the nation, who profited by the fault of the Spanish monarch, which it afterward imitated by the expulsion of the reformers. Thus have all nations been intermingled, and one people swallowed up in another, sometimes by persecutions and at other times by conquests.

This great emigration, added to that which happened under Ferdinand and Isabella, and to the numerous colonies which avarice had transplanted into the new world, insensibly exhausted Spain of its inhabitants, and that monarchy soon became a mighty body without substance. Superstition, the vice of weak minds, was another subject of disgrace to the reign of Philip III.; his court was only a chaos of intrigues, like that of Louis XIII. These two princes could not live without favorites, nor reign without prime ministers. The duke of Lerma, who was afterward cardinal, governed for a long time both king and kingdom, till the general confusion of affairs drove him from his place. He was succeeded by his son; but the kingdom was not the better for it.

The disorder in the state increased under the reign of Philip IV., son of Philip III. His favorite, the count-duke of Olivarez, made him take the surname of Great on his accession to the throne. Had he been really so he would not have needed a prime minister. Europe and his own subjects refused him this title; and afterward, in 1621, when he lost Rous-

sillon by the inferiority of his arms, Portugal by his negligence, and Catalonia by the abuse he made of his power, the public voice gave him a ditch for his device, with these words: "The more is taken from it, the greater it is."

This fine kingdom was at that time weak without doors, and miserable within. It was a stranger to all kinds of police. Its domestic commerce was ruined by the duties which they continued to raise from one province to another. Every one of these provinces had formerly been a petty kingdom, and the ancient customs were still kept up. What had formerly been a necessary law was now an absolute burden. The government did not know how to unite all these different parts into a uniform whole. The same error has been introduced into France; but in Spain it was carried to such an excess, that it was forbidden even to carry money out of one province into another. No industry seconded the gifts of nature in this happy climate: neither the silks of Valencia, nor the fine woollen stuffs of Andalusia and Castile were made by the hands of the natives. Fine linen clothes were an article of luxury then but little known. The Flemish manufacturers, the remains of the establishments of the house of Burgundy, furnished Madrid with all it then knew of magnificence. Gold and silver stuffs were prohibited in the kingdom, as in an indigent republic, afraid of being impoverished. And indeed, notwithstanding the mines of the new world, Spain

was so poor that Philip IV.'s ministry was reduced to the necessity of coining copper money, and giving it a price nearly equivalent to that of silver; so that the master of Mexico and Peru was obliged to make use of counterfeit coin to defray the expenses of the state. They did not dare, according to the wise Gourville, to impose personal taxes, because as the burghers and the country people had hardly any movables they could never be compelled to pay the sums assessed upon them. Never was the saying of Charles V. more completely verified: "France abounds in everything, Spain wants everything."

The reign of Philip IV. was only a series of losses and disgraces; and Olivarez was as unfortunate in his administration as Cardinal Richelieu was happy in his.

The Dutch, who began the war again in 1625, at the expiration of the twelve years' truce, took the Brazils from Spain, of which they still retain Surinam. They also took Maestricht, which still continues in their possession. Philip's armies were driven out of Valtelline and Piedmont by the French, without a declaration of war, and at length, after war was declared in 1635, his arms proved unsuccessful in all parts. Artois was invaded; Catalonia, jealous of its privileges, upon which he had made encroachments, revolted and put itself under the dominion of France. Portugal shook off his yoke; and by a conspiracy as vigorously executed as it had been well conducted, the family of

Braganza was seated on the throne of that kingdom. Olivarez had the confusion of having himself contributed to this great revolution by sending money to the duke of Braganza to take from him all pretence of not coming to Madrid. With this very money the duke paid the conspirators.

The revolution was not difficult. Olivarez had been imprudent enough to recall a Spanish garrison from Lisbon. There were few troops left to guard the kingdom. The people were exasperated with a new tax that was going to be levied upon them; and, to complete all, the prime minister, thinking to deceive the duke of Braganza, had given him the command of the arsenal. The duchess of Mantua, who was vice-queen, was driven out of the kingdom, without a single person to stir in her defence. A Spanish secretary of state and one of his clerks were the only victims sacrificed to the public vengeance. All the towns in Portugal followed the example of Lisbon, almost in the same day. Don John of Braganza was universally proclaimed king without the least disturbance; a son does not succeed more peaceably to the possessions of his father. Ships were despatched from Lisbon to all the cities of Asia and Africa, and to all the islands belonging to the crown of Portugal, and they all with one accord expelled the Spanish governors. All that part of the Brazils that had not been taken from the Spaniards by the Dutch, returned under the Portuguese dominion; and at length the Dutch made a league with the

new king, Don John of Braganza, and restored to him what they had taken from the Spaniards in the Brazils.

The Azores, Mozambique, Goa, and Macao were animated with the same spirit as Lisbon. It seemed as if the conspiracy had been previously concerted in all these towns. It everywhere appeared how disagreeable a sovereign ruler is, and at the same time how badly the Spanish ministry had provided for the preservation of so many states.

It was also seen how kings are flattered in their misfortunes, and how carefully disagreeable truths are disguised to them. The manner in which Olivarez acquainted Philip IV. with the loss of Portugal is famous: "I come to bring your majesty good news," said that artful minister, "all the duke of Braganza's estates are fallen to you; he has taken it into his head to have himself declared king, and by his crime your majesty is entitled to the confiscation of all his estates." This confiscation, however, did not take place; Portugal became a considerable kingdom, especially when by the riches of Brazil, and its treaties with England, it established a flourishing trade.

Olivarez, master of the Spanish monarchy, and rival of Cardinal Richelieu, was at length disgraced for having been unsuccessful. These two ministers had long been kings, the one in France and the other in Spain; both had the royal family, the grandees of the kingdom, and the people, their enemies.

They were both very different in their characters, their virtues and their vices. The count-duke was as reserved, mild, and gentle as the cardinal was lively, haughty, and cruel. It was Richelieu's activity which continued him in the administration, and gave him almost always the ascendant over Olivarez. The Spanish minister lost everything by his negligence. He died the death of all disgraced ministers; it is said that vexation kills them; but it is not so much the vexation of being left in solitude after the hurry they have been accustomed to, as the vexation of knowing that they are hated, and cannot avenge themselves. Cardinal Richelieu shortened his days in a different manner, by the uneasiness with which he was devoured in the fulness of his power.

After all the losses that the Spanish branch of the house of Austria had sustained, it still retained more dominions that the kingdom of Spain now possesses. The duchy of Milan, Flanders, Naples, and Sicily belonged to that monarchy; and notwithstanding its administration, it continued to give great uneasiness to France, till the Peace of the Pyrenees.

From the time of Philip II. until Philip IV. the Spaniards were famous for the arts of genius. Their stage, imperfect as it was, was still superior to that of other nations, and served as a model for the English theatre: and later, when tragedy began to appear with some degree of lustre in

France, it borrowed a great deal from the Spanish stage. History, pleasing romances, ingenious fictions, and morality were carried to a still greater perfection in Spain than the drama; but sound philosophy was always unknown to them. The Inquisition and superstition perpetuated the errors of the schools. Mathematics were very little cultivated, and the Spaniards almost always employed Italian engineers in their wars. They had some painters of the second rank, but never any school for painting. Architecture did not make any great progress among them. The Escorial was built after a Frenchman's design. The mechanical arts were still in a rude state. The magnificence of the noblemen consisted in great heaps of silver plate and a number of servants.

There was an ostentatious kind of generosity practised in the houses of the grandees, which deceived strangers, and was customary nowhere but in Spain; this was to distribute all the money won at play among the bystanders, of whatsoever condition. Montresor states that when the duke of Lerma received Gaston, brother of Louis XIII., and his retinue in the Low Countries, he displayed a still more extraordinary kind of magnificence. This minister, at whose house Gaston remained for several days, caused two thousand louis d'or to be laid every day upon a large gaming table for the prince's retinue and himself to divert themselves at play.

The entertainments of bull-fighting were very fre-

quent, as they still are; this was a most magnificent and gallant spectacle, and at the same time the most cruel. At the same time there was a total want of the conveniences of life. The want of these conveniences was greatly increased after the expulsion of the Moors. Hence it comes to pass that you travel in Spain as you would in the deserts of Arabia; the towns being destitute of every kind of convenience. Society was as little improved as the handicrafts. The women, who were almost as closely confined as those in Africa, comparing this slavery with the liberty enjoyed by those of their sex in France, became doubly miserable. This restraint brought to perfection an art unknown to us, that of discoursing with the fingers. In this manner only did a lover explain himself under his mistress' window, who at the same time opened one of those little window grates called jalousies, which supplied the place of sashes, and answered him in the same language. Everyone played upon the guitar, and yet it did not enliven the general gloom that was spread over the face of the whole country. The practice of religious duties supplied the place of other occupations among the common people, who were all unemployed. It was said then that pride, devotion, love, and idleness composed the character of the Spanish nation; but at the same time there were none of those bloody revolutions, conspiracies, and cruel punishments which were so frequent in the other courts of Europe. Neither the

duke of Lerma nor Count Olivarez shed the blood of their enemies on the scaffold: their kings were not assassinated there as in France; nor did they fall, as in England, by the hand of the executioner.

CHAPTER CXLVIII.

THE GERMANS, UNDER RUDOLPH II., MATTHIAS, AND FERDINAND II. — MISFORTUNES OF THE ELECTOR PALATINE FREDERICK — CONQUESTS OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS — PEACE OF WESTPHALIA.

While France was reviving under Henry IV.; while England flourished under its Elizabeth, and while Spain was the preponderating power in Europe under Philip II., Germany and the North did not attract so much attention.

If we consider Germany as the seat of the empire, that empire was but an empty name; and it may be observed, that from the abdication of Charles V. till the reign of Leopold, it never had any credit in Italy. The coronations at Rome and Milan were suppressed, as useless ceremonies, which had before been looked upon as essential; but after Ferdinand I., the brother and successor of Charles V., had neglected to make the journey to Rome, it began to be thought of no consequence. The pretensions of the emperors to Rome, and that of the popes to the bestowal of the imperial dignity, fell insensibly into oblivion; all was confined to a letter of congratu-

lation, which the supreme pontiff writes to the emperor-elect. Germany still retained the title of empire, though weak, as being always a prey to divisions. It was, in fact, a republic of princes, of which the emperor was chief; and these princes, having pretensions upon one another, were almost always engaged in a civil war, either private or public, which was continually fed by their contrary interests, and by the three different religions then in Germany, which were still more contrary than the interests of the princes.

It was impossible that this vast state, divided into so many detached principalities, destitute of trade at that time, and consequently of riches, could have much influence on the system of Europe. It was not strong without doors, but it was within, because it was always an industrious and warlike nation. Had the Germanic constitution fallen to decay, had the Turks invaded one part of Germany, and the other had called in foreign masters, politicians would not have failed to declare that Germany, already torn in pieces by intestine divisions, could not subsist any longer, and would have demonstrated that the peculiar form of its government, the great number of its princes, and the plurality of religions had necessarily prepared the way to ruin and inevitable slavery. The causes of the decline of the ancient Roman Empire were not nearly so obvious, and yet the Germanic body has remained unshaken, while it carried in its bosom everything that appeared most likely

to overturn it; and it is difficult to ascribe this permanence of constitution to any other cause than the genius of the nation.

Germany had lost Metz, Toul, and Verdun in 1552, during the reign of Charles V., but this territory, which belonged to ancient France, might be considered rather as an excrescence of the Germanic body than as a natural part of the state. Neither Ferdinand I. nor his successors had made the least attempt to recover those towns. The emperors of the house of Austria, after they became kings of Hungary, had always the Turk to fear, and were not in a condition to disturb France, weak as she was, from the time of Francis II. until Henry IV. The princes of Germany might plunder her, while the Germanic body could not assemble all its forces to destroy her.

Ferdinand I. vainly endeavored to reconcile the three religions which divided the empire, and to unite the princes, who were frequently at war with one another. The old maxim, "Divide to reign," by no means suited him; Germany must be united before he could be powerful; but it was so far from being in a state of union that it was dismembered. It was in his reign that the Teutonic Knights gave the Poles Livonia, which was reputed a province of the empire, and which at present is in possession of the Russians. The making of all the bishoprics in Brandenburg and Saxony secular was not a dismembering of the state, but only a great change, which

made those princes more powerful, and the emperor weaker.

Maximilian II. was still less the sovereign than Ferdinand I. Had the empire preserved any remains of its vigor, he would have supported his right to the Netherlands, which was undoubtedly a province of the empire, and of which the emperor and the diet were the proper judges. These people, therefore, who had so long been called rebels, should have been put by the laws under the ban of the empire; and yet Maximilian suffered the prince of Orange, William the Silent, to carry on the war in the Netherlands, at the head of German troops, without interfering in the quarrel. This emperor in vain caused himself to be elected king of Poland in the year 1575, after the departure of Henry III., which was looked upon as an abdication; for Báthori, the vaivode of Transylvania, and the emperor's own vassal, carried it before his sovereign; and the Ottoman court, under whose protection Báthori then was, proved more powerful than the court of Vienna.

Rudolph II., who succeeded Maximilian II., held the reins of the empire with a still feebler hand. He was at the same time emperor, and king of Bohemia and Hungary, but he had no influence either in Bohemia, Hungary, or Germany, and still less in Italy. Rudolph's reign seems to prove that there is no general rule in politics.

This prince was esteemed more incapable of gov-

erning than even Henry III. of France. Henry's conduct cost him his life, and almost occasioned the loss of the kingdom. Rudolph's conduct, though much weaker, caused not the least trouble in Germany. The reason is that, in France, all the nobles wanted to establish their own power on the ruins of the throne, and the German princes were already established.

There are times which absolutely require the prince to be a warrior; Rudolph, who was not such, saw his kingdom of Hungary overrun by the Turks. Germany was at that time so badly governed that they were obliged to go begging to raise money for opposing the Ottoman conquests. Begging-boxes were fixed up at the doors of all the churches. This was the first war that had been carried on by charity: it was looked upon as a kind of holy war, but it was not the more successful on that account; and had it not been for the troubles in the seraglio, it is probable that Hungary would have remained forever in the hands of the Porte.

In Germany, under this emperor, the same thing happened that had lately been seen in France under Henry III.— a Catholic league in opposition to a Protestant one, without the sovereign having it in his power to put a stop to the proceedings of either. Religion, which had long been the cause of so many troubles in the empire, was now only the pretext. The affair in question was the succession of the duchies of Cleves and Juliers; this was another

consequence of feudal government, and there was no other way of deciding the possession of these fiefs but by arms. The houses of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Neuberg disputed for them. The archduke Leopold, the emperor's cousin, had taken possession of Cleves till the affair should be decided. This dispute, as we have already seen, was the sole cause of the death of Henry IV. He was preparing to march to the assistance of the Protestant leaguers, at the head of a well-disciplined army, attended by the greatest generals of the age, and the best ministers in Europe; this victorious prince was ready to take advantage of the weakness of Rudolph and Philip III.

The death of Henry IV., which rendered this great enterprise abortive, did not make Rudolph more happy. He had ceded Hungary, Austria, and Moravia to his brother Matthias, at the time the king of France was preparing to march against him: and even when he was delivered from so formidable an enemy, he was still obliged to yield Bohemia to this Matthias, and lead a private life, though with the title of emperor.

Everything in his empire was done without him; he did not even interfere in the extraordinary affair of Gerhard de Truchses, elector of Cologne, who wanted to keep his archbishopric and his wife at the same time, and who was driven from his electorate by force of arms by his own canons, and the person who was his competitor. This extraordinary apathy

to public affairs arose from a principle still more extraordinary in an emperor; the study of philosophy, to which he was particularly addicted, had taught him everything that he could know at that time, except to discharge the duties of a sovereign. He preferred instructing himself in astronomy under the famous Tycho Brahe, to governing the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia.

The famous astronomical tables of Tycho Brahe and Kepler bear the name of this emperor, being called the Rudolphine tables, as those which were formed in the twelfth century in Spain, by two Arabians, bore the name of King Alphonso. The Germans principally distinguished themselves in this century by the beginnings of true natural philosophy. They had never succeeded in the liberal arts like the Italians; indeed they never applied themselves to them. The gift of invention in the natural sciences belongs only to those of an unwearied and industrious disposition; and the Germans had for a long time been remarkable for this kind of genius, which had communicated itself to their northern neighbors. Tycho Brahe was a native of Denmark. It was no small matter of surprise, especially at that time, to see a private gentleman of Denmark expend one hundred thousand crowns of his own fortune in building, with the assistance of Frederick II., king of that country, not only an observatory, but a small town inhabited by learned

men, to which he gave the name of Uranienborg,[1] or the Starry City. Tycho Brahe had indeed the weakness to give in to judicial astrology; but he was no less a good astronomer and a skilful mechanic. He had the fate of most great men, he was persecuted by his own countrymen after his protector was dead; but he found another in the emperor Rudolph,

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[1] Uranienborg would be better translated "Heavenburgh," for Οὐρανός signifies *cœlum*, not *astrum*. Tycho Brahe was a strange composition of learning and superstition, of good sense and absurdity. He lost his nose in a nocturnal squabble at Rostock, and is said to have made and fitted on an artificial one so dexterously that the defect could not be perceived. He was not only a mathematician and mechanic, but a chemist, an alchemist, a physician, and poet. By his system the earth is immovable, as a centre, round which the sun and moon perform their revolutions. He supposes the earth also to be the centre of the *primum mobile;* and the sun to be the centre of motion for the planets Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. Having rejected the diurnal rotation of the earth upon its axis, he was obliged to retain the most absurd part of the Ptolemaic system, and to suppose the whole universe, to its farthest extent, was carried by the *primum mobile* about the axis of the earth every day. Notwithstanding these errors, his labors were of great service to astronomy. He discovered the refraction of the air, and determined the places of a great number of the fixed stars, with an accuracy unknown to former astronomers. He demonstrated that comets were higher than the moon, from their having a very small parallax: he discovered what is called the variation in the moon's motion; and from his series of observations on the other planets, the theories of their motions were afterward corrected and improved.

who made him amends for all his losses and the injustice of courts.

Copernicus had discovered the true system of the world before Tycho Brahe had invented his, which is at best but an ingenious thought. This ray of science, which now enlightens the world, came first from the little town of Thorn, in Polish Prussia, about the middle of the sixteenth century.

Kepler,[1] who was a native of the duchy of Würtemberg, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, found out the mathematical laws of the course of the stars, and was looked upon as a lawgiver in astronomy. Chancellor Bacon at that time proposed some new sciences; but Copernicus and Kepler invented them. Never had greater efforts been made

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[1] This philosopher discovered the true figures of the orbits, and the proportions of the motions of the solar system. He found that each planet moves in an ellipse, which has one of its foci in the centre of the sun; that the motion of each is really unequable, varying in such a manner that a ray supposed to be always drawn from the planet to the sun, describes equal areas in equal times. He discovered the analogy between the distances of several planets from the sun, and the periods in which they complete their revolutions. He perceived that the higher planets not only moved in greater circles, but also more slowly than those that are nearer; so that, on a double account, their periodic times were greater. Yet Kepler, with all his merit, was in some things a mere visionary, who gave in to dreams of analogies and harmonies, endeavoring to find some relation between the dimensions of the five regular solids and the intervals of the planetary spheres.

in the most learned ages of antiquity, nor had Greece been adorned with more noble discoveries; but the other arts flourished at the same time in Greece; whereas in Germany natural philosophy alone was cultivated, and that only by a few learned men, unknown to the multitude, who still continued in ignorance. There were whole provinces where the people scarcely had the gift of thinking, and knew only how to hate each other on account of religion.

At length the two leagues, Catholic and Protestant, plunged Germany into a civil war of thirty years, which reduced it to a more deplorable condition than that of France, before the peaceful and happy reign of Henry IV.

In 1619, at the death of the emperor Matthias, who was Rudolph's successor, the empire was about to pass from the house of Austria; but Ferdinand, archduke of Gratz, found means to unite the suffrages in his own favor. Maximilian of Bavaria, who was his competitor in the empire, yielded it to him; he even went farther, for he supported the imperial throne at the expense of his blood and treasures, and fixed the greatness of that house, which afterward crushed his own. Two branches of the house of Bavaria, had they been united, might have changed the fate of Germany. These two branches were the elector palatine and the duke of Bavaria; but there were two powerful obstacles to their union, rivalship and a difference in religions. Frederick, the elector palatine, was one of the most

unfortunate princes of his time, and the cause of long and heavy misfortunes to Germany.

Notions of liberty never prevailed more strongly in Europe than at this time. Even Hungary, Bohemia, and Austria were as jealous of their privileges as the English themselves. This spirit had reigned in Germany ever since the time of Charles V. The example of the seven United Provinces was continually present with these people, who pretended to the same rights, and thought themselves more powerful than those of Holland. When the emperor Matthias, in 1618, got his cousin, Ferdinand de Gratz, elected nominal king of Hungary and Bohemia, and made the other archdukes yield him Austria, the people of Hungary, Bohemia, and Austria complained equally that sufficient regard had not been shown to the privilege of states. Religion made a part of the grievances of the Bohemians, who then became furious. The Protestants wanted to rebuild the churches which had been thrown down by the Catholics; the council of state issued a declaration against the Protestants; upon which they broke into the town hall, in 1618, and threw three of the principal magistrates out of the window into the street. This shows the fury of the people, a fury which always exceeds the tyranny of which they complain. But what is strange is that the rebels pretended by a manifesto that they had only acted in pursuance of the laws, and that they had a right to break the necks of those ministers who went about to

oppress them. Austria sided with the Bohemians, and it was in the midst of these troubles that Ferdinand de Gratz was elected emperor.

His new dignity made no impression upon the Protestants of Bohemia, who were at that time formidable; they considered themselves entitled to depose the king whom they had elected, and actually made a tender of the throne to Frederick, the elector palatine, son-in-law of James I. of England, who accepted, though he had no forces to maintain himself on it. Maximilian of Bavaria, with the imperial troops and his own, defeated him at Prague, Nov. 10, 1620; and wrested from him his crown and palatinate.

This fatal day was the beginning of thirty years' slaughter. The victory of Prague determined for some time the ancient quarrel between the empire and the emperor, by making Ferdinand II. despotic. In 1621 he put the elector palatine under the ban of the empire by a private arret of his aulic council, and proscribed all the princes and noblemen of his party, in defiance of the imperial articles, which could bind only the weaker side.

The elector palatine fled into Silesia, Denmark, Holland, England, and France. This unfortunate prince always failed, and was deprived of every resource on which he depended. He met with no assistance from his father-in-law, the king of England, who shut his ears to the cries of his nation, the solicitations of his son-in-law, and the Protestant

interest, of which he might have been the head. Louis XIII. refused him aid, although it was visibly his interest to prevent the princes of Germany from being oppressed. Louis was not at that time under the direction of Cardinal Richelieu. The palatine family and the Protestant league were soon reduced to depend on no other assistance than that of two warriors, who were each at the head of a little vagabond army, like the Italian Condottieri: one of these was the prince of Brunswick, whose whole dominions consisted in the government, or rather usurpation, of the bishopric of Halberstadt; and who took the title of "The Friend of God and the Enemy of the Priests;" which latter title he certainly deserved, since he subsisted entirely on plundering the churches: the other support of this already ruined party was a bastard adventurer of the house of Mansfeld, as well deserving the title of "Enemy of the Priests" as the duke of Brunswick. These two defenders might very well contribute to ravage a part of Germany, but could never be of any service in restoring the palatine, or settling the equilibrium of princes.

The emperor, whose power in Germany was now confirmed, assembled a diet at Ratisbon, in 1623, in which he declared that the elector palatine, having been guilty of high treason, his estates, goods, and dignities were fallen to the imperial demesnes; but that, not being willing to diminish the number of the electors, he willed, commanded, and ordered

Maximilian of Bavaria to be invested with the electorate palatine. He bestowed this investiture from his throne; his vice-chancellor declaring aloud that the emperor conferred this dignity "by the plenitude of his power."

The Protestant league, now on the point of being crushed, made fresh efforts to prevent its total ruin. It chose Christian IV., king of Denmark, for its head; England supplied it with some money; but neither the money of the English, the troops of Denmark, nor yet the arms of Brunswick or Mansfeld availed aught against the emperor, and only served to lay Germany waste. Ferdinand II. triumphed over all opposition by his two generals, the duke of Wallenstein and Count Tilly. The king of Denmark was always defeated at the head of his armies; and Ferdinand, without stirring from home, was victorious and all-powerful.

He put the duke of Mecklenburg, one of the chiefs of the Protestant association, under the ban of the empire, and gave his duchy to his general Wallenstein. He in like manner proscribed Duke Charles of Mantua for having, contrary to his orders, taken possession of the country which belonged to him by right of inheritance. Mantua was taken and sacked by the imperial troops, who spread terror throughout all Italy. He began to tighten the ancient chain which had linked Italy to the empire, and which had been slackened for a long time. One hundred and fifty thousand soldiers, living at

discretion in Germany, gave him absolute power. This power was exercised over a people then under very unhappy circumstances, as we may judge by the state of the coin at that time, the numerical value of which was four times greater than its original value, and was at the same time greatly adulterated. The duke of Wallenstein declared publicly that the time was at length come for reducing the electors to the condition of the dukes and peers of France, and the bishops to that of chaplains to the emperor. This was the Wallenstein who afterward aimed at becoming independent, and who had endeavored to pull down his superiors only to rise upon their ruin.

But the use Ferdinand II. made of his good fortune and power was what destroyed both his plans. He pretended to interpose his authority in the affairs of Sweden and Poland, and to oppose Gustavus Adolphus, who was supporting the pretensions of his family against Sigismund, king of Poland, this emperor's relative; and he himself paved the way to his own ruin, by forcing this young prince to invade Germany, and by reducing the Protestants to despair.

Ferdinand II. thought himself powerful enough to break the Peace of Passau, made by Charles V., and to order, by his sole authority, all the princes and great lords to restore the bishoprics and ecclesiastical benefices which they had secured possession of. This edict was a greater stretch of power than that

by which the Edict of Nantes was revoked under Louis XIV. These two similar attempts were attended with very different success. Gustavus Adolphus, being invited by the Protestant princes, whom the king of Denmark no longer dared to assist, entered Germany to avenge them and himself.

The emperor wanted to re-establish the Church, that he might be its master, and Cardinal Richelieu opposed him in this design; even the court of Rome joined against him, the fear of his power being greater than their regard for the interests of religion. It was no more extraordinary that the most Christian king's minister, and even the court of Rome itself, should engage in the support of the Protestant cause, against a formidable emperor, than it had been to see Francis I. and Henry II. in alliance with the Turks against Charles V.

When one man has done many great things, we are fond of ascribing all to him. It is a common but mistaken notion in France that Cardinal Richelieu was the only person who caused Gustavus to turn his arms against Germany, and that the revolution there was entirely owing to his schemes; but it is evident that he did nothing more than take advantage of opportunities. Ferdinand II. had, in fact, declared war against Gustavus; he attempted to seize Livonia, which that young conqueror had made himself master of; he supported Sigismund, who was his competitor in the kingdom of Sweden, and

he refused him the title of king. Interest, revenge, and pride called Gustavus into Germany; and even if the French ministry had not assisted him with money, when in Pomerania, he would still have tried the fortune of arms in a war that was already begun.

He was victorious in Pomerania in 1631, at the time France made its treaty with him. The single payment of three hundred thousand crowns, and an allowance of one million two hundred thousand francs a year, was neither an important object, a great effort in politics, nor a sufficient aid. Gustavus did everything by himself. Having entered Germany with less than fifteen thousand men, his number soon increased to forty thousand, by raising recruits in a country that furnished subsistence for them, and by making Germany itself contribute to his conquests in Germany. He obliged the elector of Brandenburg to secure to him the fortress of Spandau and all the passes, and compelled the elector of Saxony to give him the command of his own troops.

On Sept. 17, 1631, he totally defeated the imperial army commanded by Count Tilly, before the gates of Leipsic, and reduced all the places from the banks of the Elbe to the Rhine. He reinstated the duke of Mecklenburg in his dominions at one end of Germany, and almost at the same instant he appeared at the other end, in the Palatinate, after taking the city of Mentz in his march.

The emperor, who remained all this time motionless in Vienna, and saw himself, in less than one

campaign, fallen from his formidable greatness, was now obliged to solicit Pope Urban VIII. for a supply of men and money, and was refused. He then endeavored to engage the court of Rome to publish a crusade against Gustavus. Instead of a crusade, the holy father promised a jubilee. Gustavus in the meantime marched victorious through all Germany, and brought the elector palatine to Munich, who had at least the consolation of being in the palace of him who had deposed him. This unfortunate prince was now on the point of being restored to his palatinate, and even to the crown of Bohemia, by the hand of the conqueror, when, in the second battle near Leipsic, fought Nov. 6, 1632, in the plains of Lützen, Gustavus was slain in the midst of victories. His death proved fatal to the palatine, who, being at that time ill, and despairing of any further resource, put an end to his unhappy life.

Let those who inquire how the swarms of barbarians who formerly came out of the North conquered the Roman Empire cast their eyes upon what was performed by Gustavus in the space of two years, against a more warlike people than the Romans were at that time, and they will be no longer astonished.

It is a circumstance well worthy of attention that neither the death of Gustavus nor the minority of his daughter, Christina, queen of Sweden, nor the bloody defeat which the Swedes sustained at Nördlingen, prejudiced these conquests. It was then that

the French ministry played the principal part in the affairs of Germany; it gave laws to the Swedes and the Protestant princes of Germany, while it supported them; and this first gained the king of France Alsace, at the expense of the house of Austria.

Gustavus Adolphus had left behind him very great generals, who were trained by himself; this has happened to almost all conquerors. These generals were seconded by a hero of the house of Saxony, Duke Bernard of Weimar, a descendant of the ancient electoral branch who had been deprived of their dominion by Charles V., and who yet breathed revenge against the house of Austria. This prince had nothing to depend upon but a small army which he had raised in the troublesome times, and disciplined himself, and whose swords were their only support. This army, as well as that of the Swedes, was then paid by the French. The emperor, who never stirred out of his closet, had no great general left to oppose to them; he had deprived himself of the only person who was capable of restoring the glory of his arms and throne; he was fearful that the famous Wallenstein, to whom he had given an unlimited power over his armies, should make use of so dangerous a power against him, and caused that general, who aimed at independency, to be assassinated on Feb. 3, 1634.

In this way did Ferdinand I. rid himself of Cardinal Martinusius, who had grown too powerful in

Hungary; and Henry III., in like manner, caused the cardinal and the duke of Guise to be murdered.

Had Ferdinand II. commanded his troops in person, as he should have done in such a critical juncture, he would not have had occasion to employ this weak revenge, which he thought necessary, and which after all did not make him more happy.

Never was Germany more completely humbled than at this time: a Swedish chancellor ruled in that empire, and kept all Protestant princes in subjection. This was the famous Oxenstiern, who, animated in the beginning with the spirit of his master, Gustavus, would not suffer the French to share the fruits of that prince's conquests; but, after the battle of Nördlingen, he was obliged to entreat the French minister to deign to take possession of Alsace, under the title of its protector. Richelieu promised Alsace to Bernard of Weimar, and at the same time did all in his power to secure it to France. Hitherto the French ministry had temporized and acted in an underhanded way; but now it pulled off the mask, and declared war against the two branches of the house of Austria, who were weakened in Spain and Germany. Such was the issue of this thirty years' war. France, Sweden, Holland, and Savoy attacked the house of Austria at the same time, and the real system of Henry IV. was now followed.

On Feb. 15, 1637, Ferdinand II. died, at the age of fifty-nine, after a reign of eighteen years, con-

stantly disturbed with foreign or domestic wars, and having never fought but from his cabinet. He was very unhappy, because in the midst of his successes he thought himself obliged to exercise acts of cruelty, and afterward he experienced a great reverse. Germany was still more unhappy than himself; ravaged alternately by its own inhabitants, by the Swedes, and by the French; a prey to famine and want, and overrun with barbarism, the inevitable consequence of a long and unsuccessful war.

This emperor has been praised as a great prince, and yet Germany was never so miserable as under his government. It was comparatively happy under that Rudolph who is so generally despised.

Ferdinand II. left the empire to his son, Ferdinand III., who was already king of the Romans; but he left only a dismembered empire, of which France and Sweden shared the spoils.

During the reign of Ferdinand III., the Austrian power daily declined. The Swedes, who had settled in Germany, remained there; France, joined with them, still continued to assist the Protestant party with money and arms; and, though she herself was embarrassed with an unsuccessful war against Spain, and her ministry had frequently conspiracies or civil wars to suppress, nevertheless she triumphed over the empire, as a wounded man, with a little assistance, overcomes his enemy who is more deeply wounded than himself. Duke Bernard of Weimar, the descendant of the unfortunate duke of Saxony,

who had been dispossessed by Charles V., avenged the sufferings of his family on the house of Austria. He had been one of Gustavus' generals, who to a man maintained the glory of Sweden after their master's death; and he was the most fatal of all of them to the emperor. At first, indeed, he lost the great battle of Nördlingen; but afterward, having with French money got together an army who acknowledged no other master than himself, in less than four months he gained four battles against the imperialists. He had even thoughts of raising a sovereignty to himself along the borders of the Rhine. The court of France had guaranteed Alsace to him by treaty.

This new conqueror died in 1639, at the age of thirty-five, and bequeathed his army to his brothers, as a person bequeaths an estate. But France, who had more money than Weimar's brothers, bought this army, and carried on its conquests for herself. The marshal de Guébriant, the viscount of Turenne, and the duke of Enghien, afterward the great Condé, finished what the duke of Weimar had begun. The Swedish generals, Bannier and Torstenson, pressed Austria on one side, while Turenne and Condé attacked it on the other.

Ferdinand III., wearied out with so many shocks, was at length — in 1648 — obliged to conclude the Peace of Westphalia. By this famous treaty the French and the Swedes gave laws to Germany in politics and religion. The dispute between the

emperors and the princes of the empire, which had lasted for more than seven hundred years, was at length happily terminated.

Germany was a great aristocracy, composed of a king, electors, princes, and imperial cities. This empire, which was already almost exhausted, was obliged, moreover, to pay six millions of rix-dollars to the Swedes, who had ravaged it and made it sue for peace. The kings of Sweden became princes of the empire, by the cession made to them of the finest provinces of Pomerania, Stettin, Wismar, Rügen, Verden, Bremen, and several other important territories. The king of France became landgrave of Alsace, without being a prince of the empire.

The Palatine family was at length restored to all its rights, excepting in the Upper Palatinate, which continued with the branch of Bavaria. The claims of the meanest private gentleman were discussed before the plenipotentiaries, as in a supreme court of justice. There were a hundred and forty decrees of restitution ordered, all which were complied with. The three religions, the Roman Catholic, the Lutheran, and the Calvinist, were equally tolerated. The imperial chamber was composed of twenty-four Protestant, and twenty-six Catholic members; and the emperor was even obliged to receive six Protestants into his aulic council at Vienna.

Had it not been for this peace, Germany would have become what it had been under the descendants of Charlemagne, an almost savage country.

All the towns from Silesia to the Rhine were ruined, the lands lay fallow, and the villages uninhabited. The city of Magdeburg, which had been burned to the ground by Count Tilly,[1] was not yet rebuilt. The trade of Augsburg and Nuremberg was entirely destroyed. There were no manufactories in the empire but those of iron and steel; money was extremely scarce; all the conveniences of life were unknown; the manners were affected by the harshness which thirty years' civil war had infused into all minds. In short, it has required an age to supply Germany with all that it wanted. The French refugees were the first who introduced this improvement, and no country has profited so much as Germany by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Everything else has been brought about of itself, or by

[1] John Tserclaes, count de Tilly, was one of the greatest captains of the age in which he lived. He distinguished himself in a particular manner at the battle of Prague; he defeated Mansfeld near Elbogen; routed the margrave of Baden at Wimpfen; gave Mansfeld a second overthrow in the neighborhood of Darmstadt; gained a complete victory over the duke of Halberstadt at Stadlau, and defeated the army of Denmark at Lutter, in the duchy of Brunswick. He took a great number of towns, and proceeded with equal rapidity and success, till 1631, when he was overthrown in a pitched battle at Leipsic, by Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden. He reassembled and recruited his forces, and gained some advantages over Count Horn; but next year, at the passage of the Lech, he was mortally wounded, and died at Ingolstadt, unmarried. It is remarked of this great man that he never drank wine, and never knew woman.

time. The arts have spread themselves from place to place; and Germany is at length as flourishing as Italy was in the sixteenth century, when so many princes vied with one another in the splendor and politeness of their courts.

CHAPTER CXLIX.

ENGLAND TILL THE YEAR 1641.

As THE Spanish monarchy grew weak after Philip II., and France fell into decay and confusion after the reign of Henry IV., till restored again by the great successes of Cardinal Richelieu, so did the kingdom of England droop for a long time after the reign of Elizabeth. Her successor, James I., should have had more influence in Europe than herself, as having joined the crown of Scotland to that of England, and yet his reign was far less glorious.

It is to be observed that the laws of succession in England had not that incontestable sanction and force which they had in France and Spain. They reckon among James's chief rights, the will made by Elizabeth,[1] in which she calls him to the succession;

[1] Queen Elizabeth never made a will, and constantly refused to name her successor. After she was deprived of the use of speech, the noblemen of her council desired she would give some token of her approving James as her successor, and she laid her hand upon her head as a mark of approbation: but if she had made no such sign, the succession was already so settled that the crown would have quietly devolved on the king of Scotland.

and James himself was in continual apprehension, lest he should not be named in the will of a queen so beloved and respected by her people, who would necessarily be determined by her last desires.

Notwithstanding his great obligation to Elizabeth's will, he did not put on mourning for the murderess of his mother. As soon as he was acknowledged king, he looked upon himself as such by divine right, and for that reason assumed the title of "Sacred Majesty." This was the first foundation of the nation's discontent, and of the unparalleled misfortunes of his son and his posterity.

In the first part, which was the most peaceable of his reign, there was formed one of the most horrid conspiracies that ever entered into the human imagination; all the other plots which revenge, politics, or the barbarity of civil wars, and even fanaticism itself had produced, were not to compare in blackness to the powder plot. The English Roman Catholics expected greater concessions from the king than he chose to grant them. Some of them, more outrageous than the rest, and possessed with that gloomy melancholy which engenders the greatest crimes, had resolved to restore their religion in England, by extirpating at one blow the king, the royal family, and all the peers of the kingdom. One Percy, of the Northumberland family, Robert Catesby, and others, contrived a scheme to place thirty-six barrels of gunpowder under the house of lords, where the king was to make his speech to the

parliament, on Feb. 7, 1605. Never was crime more easy to be executed, nor attended with a more certain prospect of success. No one could have the least suspicion of so new a contrivance, nor could anything happen to obstruct it. The thirty-six barrels of powder, which had been bought in Holland at different times, were placed directly under the House of Lords, in a coal cellar, which Piercy had several months before hired for the purpose. They now waited only for the meeting of the parliament; and there was nothing to fear, unless the remorse of some one of the conspirators; but the two Jesuits, Garnet and Aldecorn, who were their confessors, had taken care to remove all scruples of conscience. Percy, who could without pity be the instrument of destroying the king and all the nobility of the nation, felt an emotion of compassion for one of his friends, Lord Monteagle, who was a peer of the kingdom. This private attachment prevented the execution of the design. He wrote a letter to Monteagle, in a feigned hand, advising him, if he had any regard for his life, to be absent at the opening of the session, for God and man had concurred to punish the wickedness of the times. "The danger," added the writer, "will be past in as little time as you shall take to burn the letter."

Percy was so secure that he never imagined it possible for anyone to guess that the whole parliament was to be blown up; however, the letter being read in the king's council, and no one being able to guess

at the nature of the intended plot, of which there does not appear the least probable intimation, the king, after some few minutes' reflection upon the short time that the danger was to last, suspected the true design of the conspirators. Persons were sent by his orders the very night before the opening of the parliament to search the vaults and cellars under the house; there they found a man at the cellar-door, with a match in his hand, and a horse waiting for him; and upon searching they found the barrels of powder.

Percy and the chief of the conspirators, upon hearing of the discovery of their plot, had time to raise about a hundred Catholic gentlemen, who all sold their lives dearly; only eight of the conspirators were taken and executed; among these were the two Jesuits. The king declared that they had suffered according to law; but their order declared them innocent, and made martyrs of them. Such was the spirit of the age in all those countries where the minds of mankind were blinded and led astray by religious disputes.

The Gunpowder Plot was the only great instance of cruelty that the English gave the world during the reign of James I. Far from being a persecutor, that monarch openly embraced toleration, and even strongly censured the Presbyterians, who taught at that time that hell was the infallible portion of every Papist.

He governed in uninterrupted peace for the space

of twenty-two years, during all which time trade flourished, and the people lived in plenty. Nevertheless, his reign was contemptible both at home and abroad; abroad, because, as being the head of the Protestant party in Europe, he neglected to support it against its Catholic adversaries in the grand crisis of the Bohemian war, and abandoned his son-in-law, the elector palatine; he treated when he should have fought, and was a dupe at the same time to the courts of Vienna and Madrid; he was continually sending splendid embassies, and never had an ally.

His little share of credit among other nations contributed not a little to make him despised in his own. His authority in England had suffered great diminution from his attempts to give it too much weight and lustre; by continually telling his parliament that God had made him absolute master over them, and that all their privileges were derived from the favor and condescension of his predecessors. By these and similar speeches he incensed the parliament until they examined into the limits of the royal prerogative, and the extent of the national rights; and from that time they tried to set bounds which they did not well understand. The king's eloquence only tended to subject him to severe criticism, and the world did not give his learning all the justice he expected from it. Henry IV. never called him by any other name than "Master James," and his own subjects did not bestow more gracious titles upon him. Accordingly he told his parliament in

one of his speeches, "I have piped to you, and you have not danced; I have mourned to you, and you have not lamented." By thus subjecting his prerogative to be canvassed by idle speeches badly received, he hardly ever obtained the supplies he demanded. His bounties and necessities obliged him, like many other princes, to dispose of dignities and titles which the vanity of mankind is always ready to purchase. He created two hundred baronets, a species of nobility between a baron and a knight, to descend as a hereditary title. For this insignificant honor each person paid two thousand pounds sterling. The only privilege enjoyed by these baronets was that of taking precedence of a knight; neither of them had a place in the house of peers; and this new distinction was very little regarded by the rest of the nation.

What chiefly alienated the affections of the English from him was his giving himself entirely up to favorites. Louis XIII., Philip III., and James were at one and the same time a prey to the same foible; and while the first was absolutely governed by Cadenet, whom he created duke of Luines, and the second by Sandoval, duke of Lerma, James was wholly under the direction of a Scotchman, named Carr, whom he created earl of Somerset, and whom he afterward left for George Villiers, as a woman leaves one lover for another.

This George Villiers was the duke of Buckingham, who was at that time so celebrated in Europe

for the beauty of his person, his amours, and his lofty pretensions. He was the first gentleman who had been made a duke in England, without being either a relative or an ally to the sovereign. It was one of the caprices of the human mind that a king who wrote like a divine in controversial points, should give himself up without reserve to a hero of romance. Buckingham persuaded the prince of Wales, afterward the unfortunate Charles I., to visit Spain in disguise, without any attendants, and go to Madrid to make love to the infanta, who was then proposed for a match to this young prince, offering to accompany him as his esquire in this knight-errant expedition. James, who was then called "the English Solomon," agreed to this extraordinary project, in which he hazarded the safety of his son and heir.

The more he was obliged to manage the house of Austria, the less able he was to assist the Protestant cause of his son-in-law, the palatine.

To make this romantic adventure complete, the duke of Buckingham, who had fallen in love with the duchess of Olivarez, affronted the duke, her husband, who was prime minister, broke off the match with the infanta, and brought the prince of Wales back again to England as suddenly as he had taken him away. He immediately set on foot a treaty of marriage between Charles and Princess Henrietta, daughter of Henry IV., and sister to Louis XIII., and though he behaved still more

extravagantly in France than he had done in Spain, he succeeded in his negotiation. But James never recovered the credit he had lost with his people. His high-flown notions of the royal prerogative and the divine right of kings, with which he perpetually interlarded all his speeches, and which he never maintained by his actions, gave birth to a faction which overturned the throne, and disposed of it more than once, after having stained it with blood. This faction was that of the Puritans, which partly subsists to this day, under the title of the Whig party; and the opposite faction, which stood up for the Church of England and the royal prerogative, has taken the name of Tories. These mutual animosities inspired the nation from that time with a cruel, outrageous, and gloomy spirit, which nipped in the bud the arts and sciences that were as yet hardly disclosed.

Some men of genius had, in the reign of Elizabeth, cultivated the field of literature, which till then had lain fallow in England. Shakespeare, and after him Ben Jonson, had polished the stage. Spencer had revived epic poetry; Bacon, who had more merit as a scholar than a chancellor, opened a new road to philosophy. The understandings of men began to be polished and improved. The disputes of the clergy and the bickerings between the king and his parliament brought back the age of barbarism.

It was a matter of no small difficulty to ascertain

the just bounds of the royal prerogative, the parliamentary privileges, and the liberties of the people, as well in England as Scotland, as likewise to settle those of the Episcopal authority in both kingdoms. Henry VIII. had broken down all the fences of the constitution; Elizabeth, at her accession, found some that had been newly settled, which she lowered and raised with a happy dexterity. James I. wasted his time in disputing, and while he pretended to level them all, he left them all standing; however, the nation, which was put on its guard by his declarations, prepared to defend them in case of an attack. Charles I., soon after his accession, attempted to execute what his father had too frequently proposed, without having ever effected.

It was in England, as well as in Germany, Poland, Sweden, and Denmark, in the power of the people to grant subsidies to the sovereign in the nature of a free and voluntary gift. Charles I. was desirous of assisting his brother-in-law, the elector palatine, and the Protestants against the emperor. His father had at length entered upon the same design toward the latter part of his reign, when it was too late. Money was wanting to raise troops to send into the Lower Palatinate, and for defraying other expenses; it is this metal alone that confers power, since it has become the representative of all things. The king then demanded it as a debt, and the parliament would not grant it otherwise than as a free gift; and before they would grant even this, insisted

upon a redress of grievances. Were they to wait for a redress of grievances in every nation before they could procure supplies for raising troops, they would never be able to make war. Charles I. had been persuaded to this by his sister, the princess palatine, she who had forced her husband to accept the crown of Bohemia, who had for five years together vainly solicited her father for assistance, and at length obtained it after it had been so long deferred, through the interest and instigation of Buckingham. The parliament granted but a very limited supply. There had been some instances in England of kings who, not being willing to call a parliament, and being in need of money, had raised sums from private persons, by way of loan. This loan was extorted; those who lent their money usually lost it, and those who refused were imprisoned. These arbitrary methods had been practised on certain pressing occasions, where the prince was sufficiently powerful to exercise small arts of oppression with impunity. Charles made use of the same method, but with restrictions, and borrowed some sums with which he equipped a fleet, and raised troops, which returned without doing anything.

In 1626 a new parliament was to be called. The house of commons, instead of assisting the king's necessities, impeached the duke of Buckingham, whose power and insolence disgusted the whole nation. Charles, unable to bear the insult offered

to him in the person of his minister, committed two of the members who had been the most forward in accusing him, prisoners to the Tower. He did not, however, properly support this arbitrary act, which was indeed a direct violation of the laws; and his weakness in releasing the two members, emboldened those whom their imprisonment had irritated. He had also confined a peer of the kingdom on the same account, whom he also set at liberty in the same manner. This was not the way to procure supplies; accordingly, they would not grant him any. The extorted loans were therefore continued, and soldiers were quartered on the houses of those burghers who were backward in their contributions. Such conduct could not fail to alienate all minds from him. The general discontent was further increased by the duke of Buckingham, who had returned from his disgraceful expedition to La Rochelle.

A third parliament was convoked; but this was only assembling a number of exasperated subjects, who thought of nothing but restoring the national rights and the privileges of parliament. They began by voting that the habeas corpus act,[1] which was the

[1] The habeas corpus act was afterward passed as an explanation of that article in Magna Charta, importing that no freeman shall be arrested or imprisoned, except by the legal judgment of his peers, or by an express law of the land. On this occasion the commons voted that no subject should be imprisoned without cause shown, and that the prisoner should enjoy the privilege of the habeas corpus, even though committed by order of the king and council.

guardian of their liberties, could not suffer encroachment; that the billeting of soldiers in the houses of the burghers was a violation of the liberty and property of the subject; and that no money could be raised by any other authority than act of parliament. The king, by being too obstinate in the support of his authority, and persisting in his demand, weakened the one, but did not obtain the other. The parliament was still bent on bringing the duke of Buckingham to a trial. An Irish fanatic, whom the general hatred of this minister had inspired with a kind of patriot fury, assassinated him, in 1628, in his own house, and in the midst of his friends. This act sufficiently showed the degree of fury which began to seize the nation. There was a trifling duty upon the importation and exportation of merchandise, called "Tonnage and poundage." The late king had always been in possession of this by act of parliament; and Charles thought there was no occasion for a second act to enable him to collect it. Three merchants of London having refused to pay this small tax, the officers of the customs seized their effects. One of these merchants was a member of the House of Commons. This house, which had its own liberties to defend in those of the people, commenced a suit against the king's officers; the king, incensed at this behavior, dissolved the parliament, and committed four members of the house to the Tower. These were the weak begin-

nings which produced the overthrow of the state, and stained the throne with blood.

These sources of the public calamity were further increased by a torrent of divisions in the Church of Scotland. Charles resolved to perfect his designs, with respect to religion, as well as the state. Episcopacy had not been abolished in Scotland, at the time of the reformation before Mary Stuart; but the Protestant bishops had always been kept in subjection by the Presbyterians. The Scottish people were governed by a kind of republic of priests, who were all on an equality. This was the only country in the world where riches and honors did not make the bishops powerful. They retained their seats in parliament, their honorary rights, and the revenues of their sees; but they were pastors without flocks, and peers without credit. The Scottish parliament, which was wholly composed of Presbyterians, suffered the bishops to retain their dignity only to debase them. The ancient abbeys were all in the hands of seculars, who had places in parliament, in virtue of the title of abbot. By degrees the number of these titular abbots was diminished. James I. restored Episcopacy with all its privileges. The king of England was not acknowledged as head of the Church of Scotland; but being born in that country, and having lavished English money in pensions and places to several of its members, he was more master at Edinburgh than in London. The Presbyterian assembly still sub-

sisted as before, notwithstanding the restoration of Episcopacy. These two different bodies were always thwarting each other, and the synodic republic generally got the better of the Episcopal monarchy. James, who looked upon the bishops as a body devoted to the throne, and the Calvinistic Presbyterians as enemies to the kingly dignity, thought that he should be able to reconcile his Scottish subjects to Episcopal government by introducing a new liturgy among them, and getting it received. This was no other than the Church of England liturgy. His death prevented the accomplishment of this design, which his son Charles now resumed, and determined to carry into execution.

This liturgy consisted in certain forms of prayer and ceremonies, and the use of a surplice to be worn by the priest when officiating. The bishop of Edinburgh had no sooner begun to read the statutes enacting these several customs, in 1637, than the populace rose in the utmost fury and saluted him with a shower of stones. The Presbyterians immediately entered into a covenant, as if all laws, divine and human, were about to be abolished: and the natural desire of the great to support their own schemes on one side, and the fury of popular opposition on the other, raised a civil war in Scotland.

It was not known at that time who fomented these disturbances, nor who it was that prepared the way for the tragical end of Charles I. It was Cardinal Richelieu. This despotic minister, who wanted to

hinder Mary de Medici from finding an asylum in England, and to engage Charles in the interests of France, had received a refusal from that monarch, rather more haughty than politic, which had exasperated him. There is a letter of the cardinal's to Count d'Estrades, at that time envoy from the court of France to England, in which are those remarkable words, which we have already mentioned: "The king and queen of England shall repent their having neglected my offers before a year is past, and shall quickly find that I am not to be despised."

He had an Irish priest, who was one of his secretaries; this man he sent to London and Edinburgh, in order to sow dissensions among the Presbyterians, partly by his rhetoric and partly by money; and the letter to d'Estrades is another spring to this machine. In looking into the archives of all nations, we shall constantly find religion sacrificed to interest and revenge.

The Scots took up arms. Charles had recourse to the English clergy, and even to the Catholics of the kingdom, who equally hated the Presbyterians, and only furnished the king with money, because they looked upon this as a religious war. However, he had for some months an army of twenty thousand men; but they were of little service to him, except in forwarding his negotiations with the malcontents, and afterward, when this army was disbanded for want of pay, these negotiations became more difficult. He was therefore obliged to have recourse

again to war. History furnishes few examples of a greatness of soul equal to that of the noblemen who composed the king's privy council, who, on this occasion, contributed the greater part of their fortunes for their master's service. Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, and the marquis of Hamilton, signalized themselves in a particular manner by their contributions; and the famous earl of Strafford, alone, gave a hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling; but these supplies not being nearly sufficient, the king was obliged to call another parliament.

The house of commons was so far from looking upon the Scots as enemies that they considered them as brothers, who set them an example for defending their own privileges; and the king received nothing from this parliament but the sharpest remonstrances against the methods he had employed to raise those supplies with which they had refused to furnish him. All the rights which the king had assumed to himself were declared abusive and oppressive; such as the duty of tonnage and poundage, ship-money, the sale of exclusive charters to the merchants, the billeting of soldiers in the citizens' houses, and, in short, everything which interfered with the liberties of the people. They also complained of a court of justice, called the Star Chamber, which had issued several severe decrees against the subjects. Charles then dissolved this new parliament, which greatly increased the dissatisfaction of the nation.

It seemed as if Charles had studied to set all ranks

of people against him; for instead of soothing the city of London in these delicate circumstances, he prosecuted it before the Star Chamber, for some lands in Ireland, and condemned it to a heavy fine. He continued to raise all the taxes, against which the parliament had so bitterly inveighed. Such conduct in an absolute prince would have occasioned a revolt among his subjects, much more in a limited monarch. Ill supported by his subjects, and secretly disquieted by the intrigues of Cardinal Richelieu, he was not able to prevent the Scottish army from coming as far as Newcastle. Having thus paved the way for his future misfortunes, in 1640 he convoked the parliament which put the finishing touch to his ruin. This session began, as all the rest had done, by craving redress of grievances, the abolition of the Star Chamber, the suppression of arbitrary exactions, particularly that of ship-moneys, and concluded by desiring triennial parliaments. Charles, who had it no longer in his power to refuse, granted all their demands. He hoped to regain his lost authority by a little flexibility, but herein he was mistaken. He imagined that the parliament would assist him in taking vengeance upon the Scots for their irruption into England; and instead of that, this very parliament made them a present of three hundred thousand pounds sterling to defray the expenses they had been at in carrying on a civil war. He flattered himself also with suppressing the Puritanical party in England; almost all the members of

the House of Commons were themselves Puritans. He had a tender affection for the earl of Strafford, who had devoted himself so generously to his service; and the House of Commons impeached this nobleman of high treason, purely on account of his attachment to his master. He was accused of various misdemeanors inevitable in tumultuous times, but all committed for the king's service, and which had been effaced by the generous manner in which he had contributed to the relief of his necessities. However, he was condemned by his peers: but he could not be put to death without the king's consent. The mad populace cried aloud for the blood of this loyal nobleman. The earl carried his virtue to such a height as to exhort the king to consent to his death; and the king was weak enough to sign this fatal act, which showed his subjects the way to shed blood still more precious.

CHAPTER CL.

MISFORTUNES AND DEATH OF CHARLES I.

England, Scotland, and Ireland were divided into violent factions, as well as France; but those of France were only the cabals of princes and noblemen against a prime minister, who oppressed them; whereas the parties which distracted Charles's kingdom were the general convulsions of all minds, a violent and fixed desire of changing the constitution

of the state, an ill-concerted scheme in the royalists to establish despotic power, a madness for liberty in the people, a thirst for power in the Commons, an evil design in the bishops to crush the Puritanical or Calvinistic party, and, in fine, the secret and closely-pursued plan of those people, called the Independents, which consisted in making use of the errors and mistakes of others, in order to render themselves their masters.

In the midst of all these troubles the Catholics of Ireland thought they had found the fairest opportunity of shaking off the English yoke; and religion and liberty, those two sources of the greatest actions, hurried them into a design the horror of which could only be paralleled by that of the fatal day of St. Bartholomew. They plotted to rise throughout all the provinces on one day, in October, 1641, and murder every Protestant in the kingdom; and they actually massacred upward of forty thousand. The king was at that time in Scotland, where he had but lately settled matters on a pacific footing, and the Commons governed England. These Irish Catholics, in excuse for this barbarous massacre, pretended to have received a commission from the king himself to take up arms; and Charles, who was soliciting assistance against them, both from his English and Scottish subjects, found himself accused of the crime he was endeavoring to punish. The Scottish parliament referred the business to the Commons of England alleging with justice that Ireland depended

upon England. The king, therefore, returned in haste to London. The House of Commons thinking, or at least pretending to think, that he was concerned in the Irish rebellion, sent but very slender supplies of men and money to that kingdom; and at the same time presented a remonstrance to the king of the most virulent nature.

Among other things they desired his majesty to employ in his council such persons only as should be nominated by them, and even threatened him to take other measures in case of a refusal. The House of Commons sent three of its members to present this remonstrance to the king, who delivered upon their knees a petition, which was no other than an open declaration of war against him. Oliver Cromwell, who was already a member of the house, declared that if the remonstrance did not pass in the house he would sell the little estate he had and retire from England.

This speech proves that he was then an enthusiast for that liberty which his ambition afterward trampled on.

Charles did not dare at that time to dissolve the parliament; even had he attempted it, they would not have obeyed him. There were several officers of the army formerly assembled in Scotland, who were the king's friends, and particularly attached to his person. He was also supported by the bishops and the few Papist lords then in London; those who had before been engaged in the Gunpowder Plot, to

exterminate his whole family, were now wholly devoted to his interests; all the rest of the nation was against him. The populace, stirred up by the Puritan party, filled the whole city with sedition, and assembling in a great multitude before the House of Lords, exclaimed, "No bishops, no bishops." Twelve prelates, intimidated by these riotous proceedings, resolved to retire, and subscribed a protest against all laws, votes, and resolutions which should be made in their absence. The lords, upon receiving this protest, committed them prisoners to the Tower; upon which the rest of the bishops soon afterward withdrew from the house.

While the king's power was thus upon the decline, one of his favorites, Lord Digby, gave him the pernicious and fatal advice to support it by one vigorous stroke of authority. The king unhappily forgot that this was a conjuncture in which he ought not to expose it to any new affront, and went in person to the House of Commons, to apprehend five members who had been the most violent against him, and whom he impeached of high treason. These five members had withdrawn from the house: the whole house exclaimed against this violation of its privileges. The king, like a bewildered person who knows not whither to turn himself, went from the house to the Guildhall, to demand the assistance of the city. The common council, instead of complying with his desire, presented a remonstrance against himself. He then returned to Windsor, and, in

order to atone for the wrong step he had taken, and which he found himself incapable of supporting, sent a message to the Commons, giving them to understand that he desisted from his prosecution of the five members, and would take as much care of the privileges of parliament as of his own life. The violence of his former conduct had rendered him odious to his parliament, and his present concessions made them despise him.

The Commons began now to take the whole management of the kingdom into their own hands. The peers sit by their own right in parliament; this is the ancient privilege of the barons and feudal lords. The Commons are in parliament as representatives for the cities and boroughs who elect them. The people placed much greater confidence in these deputies, who were their representatives, than in the peers. These latter, to recover the credit they had lost with the people, adopted the general sentiments of the nation, and stood up for the authority of a parliament, of which they were originally the principal part.

During this confusion the rebellion in Ireland triumphed over the weak opposition which had been made to it, and the insurgents, reeking with the blood of their countrymen, carried on their barbarities under the king's name, and that of the queen, his consort; especially the latter, as she was a Catholic. In 1642 both houses proposed to raise the militia, but at the same time insisted that it should be com-

manded by such officers only as they should nominate. According to law, nothing can be done touching the militia without the king's consent; and the parliament rightly supposed that he would never consent to sign an ordinance directed against himself. Accordingly the king withdrew, or rather fled, from London, into the north of England. His queen, Henrietta of France, daughter of Henry IV., who possessed most of her royal father's qualities, and was active, intrepid, insinuating, and even amorous, heroically supported in distress that husband to whom she had not been overfaithful in his prosperity. She sold her furniture and jewels, borrowed money in England and Holland, which she gave to her husband, and afterward went in person to Holland, on pretence of accompanying her daughter, the Princess Mary, to the Prince of Orange, her husband; but, in reality, to solicit aid from that state in case of emergency. She negotiated also at the northern courts; in a word, she sought everywhere for assistance, except in her own country, where Cardinal Richelieu, her avowed enemy, and her brother, the king, were both dying.

The civil war was not yet declared. The parliament had, by its own authority, appointed one Hotham governor of Hull, a small fortress on the seacoast of York, and which had, for a long time, been a magazine for arms and ammunition. The king appeared before the place and demanded admittance; Hotham caused the gates to be shut, and,

retaining some small respect for his royal master, came upon the ramparts and on his knees asked pardon for being obliged to disobey him. He was afterward opposed in a less respectful manner. The nation was now overspread with manifestoes from the king and parliament. Those noblemen who were in the king's interest repaired to him. He sent to London for the great seal of the kingdom, without which it was supposed there could be no law enacted; however, the laws made by the parliament against him were published and obeyed as effectually as if they had had his sanction.

Charles set up the royal standard at Nottingham; but no one appeared except a few train-bands, and those not armed. At length, by the supplies he received from Holland, by means of the queen, the presents made him by the University of Oxford, which sent him all its plate, and with what the rest of his friends could furnish, he got together an army of about fourteen thousand men.

The parliament, who had all the money of the kingdom at their disposal, soon raised a much superior force. Charles published a declaration at the head of his army, in which he protested that he would live and die in the true Protestant religion; and that he would maintain the laws of the realm, and even the privileges of that parliament which was in arms against him. His armies were commanded by Prince Rupert, son of the unfortunate elector palatine, Frederick, a prince of great

valor, and otherwise famous for his profound knowledge in natural philosophy, in which he made several useful discoveries.

The battles of Worcester and Edgehill, fought in 1642, at first proved favorable to the royal cause, and the king proceeded within a short distance of London. The queen had brought him a supply of artillery, arms, and ammunition, from Holland. She at once set out again in quest of new aid, with which she returned a few months later. The parliamentarians were not, however, discouraged: they knew they had powerful resources; and though subdued, they still acted as masters, against whom the king had rebelled.

They condemned and executed for high treason several subjects who had delivered up to the king his own towns; while the king, on his side, refrained from all reprisals on his prisoners. This alone may serve to justify, in the opinion of posterity, a prince who appeared so criminal in the eyes of his own subjects. Politicians, indeed, cannot forgive him for having wasted so much time in negotiating, when he should have taken advantage of his first success, and acted with alacrity and resolution, as the only means of putting an end to disputes of this nature.

Though Charles and Prince Rupert were beaten at Newbury in 1643, they still had the advantage of the campaign. The parliament continued stubborn and inflexible; and what is extraordinary, an assem-

bly of a few men conducted their designs with more steadiness and resolution than a king at the head of his army.

The Puritans, having got the majority in both houses, at length threw aside the mask. They entered into a solemn league with Scotland, and in 1644 signed the famous covenant by which they mutually agreed to destroy Episcopacy. It was plain, by this covenant, that the Scottish and English Puritans wanted to erect themselves into a republic. This was the spirit of Calvinism, which had long been at work in France upon the same grand design: it succeeded in Holland, but in France and England this darling scheme of the people could not be effected without shedding oceans of blood.

While the Presbyterians were thus arming England and Scotland, popery served on the other hand as a pretext with the Irish rebels, who still continued to oppose the troops sent against them by the parliament of England. The religious wars, under Louis XIII., were still recent; and the invasion of Germany by the Swedes, on the same account, was at its height. It was a deplorable circumstance that Christians should, for so many ages, have made use of the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the Church as a means for drenching in blood all that part of Europe where they are settled.

The rage of civil war was cherished by that gloomy and austere behavior which was affected by the Puritans. The parliament took this opportunity

to order the book of sports, composed by King James I., to be burned by the hands of the common hangman. This book had been written by the king, to show that it was lawful to use diversions on the Lord's day, after divine service was over. They thought by this action to do a service to religion, and an insult to the reigning prince. In the course of the same year the parliament likewise ordered that each family should deprive itself of one meal in the week, and contribute the value of it for carrying on the war.

We must not imagine that in any of the factions, either in England, Scotland, or Ireland, or even among the king's friends, or his enemies, there were many of those designing spirits, who, totally uninfluenced by the prejudices of party, only make use of the errors and fanaticism of others in order to gain the mastery over them. This was not the genius of these nations. Almost everyone was really of the party he embraced. Those who shifted sides, through some particular discontent, did it with a high hand. The independents were the only party who concealed their intentions, and this for two reasons — first, that as they were hardly looked upon as Christians, they might have given too much umbrage to the other sects; secondly, because they adopted certain enthusiastic notions, concerning the original state of equality among mankind; and that this levelling system must have hurt the ambition of the rest.

One of the strongest proofs of the inflexible sternness which had taken possession of all minds at that time is the punishment of William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, who was condemned by the parliament after having been four years in prison. The only crime of which they could convict him, with any show of evidence, was of having made use of some of the ceremonies of the Romish Church at the consecration of a church in London. He was sentenced to be hanged, and his heart cut out and thrown in his face, the usual punishment for traitors; but the commons with difficulty indulged him with decapitation.[1]

Charles, finding the parliaments of England and Scotland united against him, and being hard pressed between their two armies, thought it necessary to conclude a truce with the Irish Roman Catholics, in order to employ in his own service part of the troops that served in Ireland against the rebels of that kingdom. This scheme succeeded, and he not only had a great number of the English from the army in Ireland, but also many of the Irish them-

[1] Archbishop Laud, when brought to trial, made such a vigorous defence that the Commons, perceiving he could not be convicted in the common course of evidence, declared him guilty by an act of attainder. He pleaded the king's pardon, which had been conveyed to him from Oxford; but it was declared null by both houses. Being sentenced to the death of a common felon, he petitioned that, as he was a priest, a bishop, a privy counsellor, and a peer of the realm, he might suffer decapitation; a request which the Commons granted with difficulty.

selves, who came to increase his army. Upon this the parliament openly charged him with being the author of the rebellion in Ireland. Unfortunately, these new troops, on which he had placed so much dependence, were entirely defeated, in 1644, by Lord Fairfax, the parliament's general, and the king had only the grief of having furnished his enemies with a plausible pretext to accuse him as an accomplice with the Irish in their barbarities.

He now became more and more unfortunate; Prince Rupert, after having long maintained the honor of the king's arms, was at length beaten near York, and his army totally dispersed by the earl of Manchester and Lord Fairfax. Charles now retired to Oxford, where he was soon besieged. The queen was then in France. The king's extreme danger animated his friends to the exertion of their most powerful efforts. They obliged the enemy to raise the siege of Oxford. The king himself assembled a few troops, and at first met with some success; but this interval of good fortune proved of short duration. The parliament was still in a position to send a superior army against him, and he was attacked by the generals Essex, Manchester, and Waller, at Newbury, on the road to Oxford. Cromwell was then a colonel in the parliament's army, and had already made himself remarkable, by several acts of extraordinary valor. It is said that at this battle of Newbury, Oct. 27, 1644, the corps commanded by the earl of Manchester having given way, and

the earl himself being carried along with the rest in their precipitate flight, Cromwell, who was himself wounded, rode up to him and cried: "You are mistaken, my lord, the enemy are not this way;" and brought him back to the charge; in a word, most writers agree that the fortune of this day was chiefly owing to Cromwell. This is certain, that Cromwell, who began to have as much influence in the House of Commons as he had reputation in the army, publicly accused his general of not having done his duty.

The fondness of the English for all strange things brought to light a new scheme of a most extraordinary nature, which perfectly explained Cromwell's true character, and proved at once the source of his greatness, the downfall of the parliament and Episcopacy, the murder of the king, and the abolition of monarchy.

The sect of independents began to make some noise. The most violent of the Presbyterians had joined this sect, which resembled the Quakers in condemning the ordination of ministers, and allowing everyone to preach and expound the Scriptures according to the talents he had received from nature; but they were at the same time as turbulent as the Quakers were mild and peaceable. They gave rein to the wildest imaginations; they formed the extravagant scheme of levelling all distinctions among men; and, in order to establish this desired equality, they had recourse to force. Oliver Crom-

well looked upon these people as fit instruments to be made use of in his designs.

The city of London, which was divided into several factions, complained bitterly that the parliament had loaded it with all the burden of the war. Cromwell then got some of the independents to make a motion in the house for remodelling the army, and to engage the members of both houses to resign all their civil and military offices. Almost all the profitable posts were in the hands of the members of one or the other house. The three generals of the parliament's army were peers; the major part of the colonels, majors, treasurers, purveyors, and commissioners of all kinds, were members of the lower house. Did it appear probable that so many persons in power could be prevailed upon by the flattery of words, to resign their posts and incomes? and yet this was effected by a single session. The Commons in particular were dazzled with the prospect of gaining an ascendency over the minds of the people by this unexampled disinterestedness. This act was called "The self-denying ordinance." The peers at first hesitated to pass the bill, but were soon overpowered by the Commons. The earls of Essex, Denbigh, Fairfax, and Manchester voluntarily resigned their commissions; and the whole command of the army was bestowed on Sir Thomas Fairfax, the general's son, as not being a member of parliament. This was just what Cromwell wanted; he had absolute power over this new gen-

eral, as indeed he had over the House of Commons, which continued him in the command of his regiment, notwithstanding that he was a member, and even ordered the general to give him command of a detachment of horse, which was directed to march to Oxford. This very man, who had so artfully deprived all the members of their military rank, had the address to get the officers of the independent party continued in their posts, and from that time it was easy to be perceived that the army would give laws to the parliament.

General Fairfax, with the assistance of Cromwell, remodelled the whole army, incorporated some regiments into others, made a total change in all the military corps, and established a new discipline; all this, which at any other time would have excited a revolt, now passed without the least resistance.

This army, animated with a new spirit, marched to meet the king's forces near Oxford, and here, on June 14, 1645, was fought the decisive battle of Naseby, between the royalists and the parliamentarians. Cromwell, who was general of the horse, after having defeated the king's cavalry, returned and fell upon the foot, which he routed; and the honor of that celebrated victory was chiefly owing to him. The royal army was, after a great slaughter, captured or dispersed. All the towns threw open their gates to Cromwell and Fairfax. The young prince of Wales, afterward Charles II., early a partaker in his father's calamities, was obliged to

fly over to the Scilly Islands. The king, after his defeat, retired with the shattered remains of his army to Oxford, and sent proposals for peace to the parliament, which they insolently rejected, and even insulted him in his misfortunes. Their general had sent them a casket of the king's, which was found on the field of battle, and which contained his private letters to the queen. Many of these letters were filled only with expressions of grief and tenderness. These were read openly in the House of Commons, with all the bitter raillery which belongs to brutality.

The king was in Oxford, a town almost destitute of fortifications, between the victorious army of the parliament on one side, and the Scottish army on the other. He now saw no other possibility of escaping, than that of throwing himself into the arms of the Scots, who were the least rancorous of his enemies. Accordingly he repaired to the Scottish army, to whom he delivered himself up; but the parliament having paid the Scottish army the sum of two hundred thousand pounds sterling, which was due to them for arrears, and promised the payment of as much more, the king on that instant became a prisoner.

The Scots delivered the king to the commissioners of the English Parliament, who at first were puzzled in what manner to behave to their royal prisoner. The war appeared to be ended, the Scottish army was on its march home, and the parliament had nothing to fear but from its own army, which had

made it victorious. Cromwell and his independents were the masters of the soldiery. This parliament, or rather House of Commons, though still all-powerful in London, was sensible that the army was aiming at the supreme authority, and therefore wanted to get rid of these troublesome servants, who had become dangerous to their masters; accordingly it was voted to send part of the forces into Ireland, and to disband the rest. It may easily be imagined whether or not Cromwell would suffer this. The critical moment had now arrived; he formed a council of officers, and another of private soldiers, called "Agitators," who began by making remonstrances and petitions, and soon afterward gave laws to the parliament. The king was in the hands of the parliament's commissioners at Holmby Castle; a party of soldiers, of the council of agitators, went and took him by force from the castle, and brought him to the army at Newmarket.

After this bold step, the army marched directly to London. Cromwell, being desirous to color over the violence of his proceedings with some show of regularity, impeached eleven members of parliament, who were the declared enemies of the independent party, after which these members never dared to enter the house. The city of London at length opened its eyes when too late, and plainly perceived the misfortunes it had no longer the power to redress. It saw a tyrannical parliament tyrannized over by the army, its king a captive in the hands of

the soldiery, and its citizens exposed to imminent danger. The mayor and common council raised the militia, and hastily drew intrenchments round the city; but the army appearing at the gates, it threw them open, and quietly received its masters. The parliament put the command of the Tower into Fairfax's hands, in 1647, returned the army thanks for its disobedience, and gratified the soldiers with a sum of money.

They were still at a loss as to how to dispose of the king's person; the independents had removed him to Hampton Court. Cromwell and the Presbyterian party both entered into private treaty with him. The Scots also proposed to him to carry him off. Charles, who dreaded all these parties, found means to make his escape from Hampton Court, and crossed over to the Isle of Wight, where he thought to find an asylum; instead of that he only met with a new prison.

During this anarchy, the fatal consequence of a factious and despised parliament, a divided capital, an insolent army, and the flight and imprisonment of the lawful sovereign, the spirit which had so long animated the independents suddenly took possession of several of the common soldiers of the army, who formed themselves into a body under the name of "Levellers," an appellation which signified their design of reducing everything to an equality, and acknowledging no master, either in Church, Army, or State. They did not more, indeed, than what the

Commons had done before them; they copied the examples of their officers, and their pretensions seemed to the full as well founded as those of the others. Their numbers were considerable; Cromwell, finding that they were likely to become the more dangerous, as they acted upon his own principles, and that, if they were suffered to go on, they might deprive him of the fruit of all his policy and labor, formed the sudden resolution to quell them, at the hazard of his life. Accordingly he repaired to a meeting of those levellers, with a guard of chosen men with whom he had always been victorious, and began to expostulate with them, desiring to know in God's name what they wanted; and then fell upon them with such fury, that they were unable to make any resistance. He ordered some of the prisoners to be hanged on the spot, and thus broke a faction whose only crime was that of having followed his example.

This bold action greatly increased his power, both in the army, the parliament, and the city of London. Sir Thomas Fairfax was still general of the army, but far inferior in credit to Cromwell. The king, who was prisoner in the Isle of Wight, continued to make proposals for peace, as if the war had not been already terminated, or that he thought his enemies would listen to them. His second son, the duke of York, afterward King James II., who was then about fifteen years of age, and was prisoner in St. James's palace, escaped more fortunately from his

confinement than his father had done from Hampton Court, and retired to Holland. Some of the king's friends having at the same time gained over a part of the English fleet, steered with their squadron to Brill, whither this young prince had retired, and delivered it to him. He immediately went on board, with his brother, the prince of Wales, and set sail for England, in order to assist their father; and this very assistance proved the means of hastening his ruin.

The Scots, ashamed of being looked upon by all Europe as a people who had sold their king, assembled an army in his behalf, which was joined by several young noblemen, and others of the king's friends in England. Cromwell made forced marches to meet them with a part of the army, gave them battle at Preston in 1648, routed their forces, and took their general, the duke of Hamilton, prisoner. The town of Colchester, in the county of Essex, which had declared for the king, was compelled to surrender at discretion by Fairfax; and this general sullied his victory by an act of cruelty, in causing several of the noblemen who had engaged the inhabitants to take up arms for their prince, to be shot in his presence.

While Fairfax and Cromwell were thus reducing all to their obedience, the Commons, who dreaded Cromwell and the independents even more than they had done the king, began to treat with that unhappy monarch, and tried all their efforts to get rid of an

army on which they could never afterward place any dependence. The army, which had returned home victorious, demanded that the king should be brought to justice, as the author of all the evils with which the kingdom had been afflicted; that the principal royalists should be punished; and that the prince of Wales and the duke of York should be required to submit within a certain limited time, or otherwise to be proclaimed traitors, and banished forever. To this address the Commons returned no answer. Cromwell procured petitions to be presented to him from all the regiments in the army, praying that the king might be brought to trial. General Fairfax, who was still so blinded as not to see that Cromwell only made use of him as a tool, caused the captive king to be removed from the Isle of Wight to Hurst Castle, and thence to Windsor, without vouchsafing to give any account of his conduct to the parliament. He then marched with the army to London, seized all the posts, and obliged the city to supply him with forty thousand pounds sterling.

The next day, when the Commons were going to their house, they found a guard at the door, who excluded the greater part of the Presbyterian members, the first beginners of those troubles of which they themselves were the victims, and suffered none but independents to enter, or such rigid Presbyterians as had always been implacable enemies to monarchy. The excluded members, having published a protest against the violence they had undergone,

the two houses declared it scandalous and seditious. This remnant of the House of Commons consisted wholly of a set of burghers, the slaves of the army, whose officers exercised unlimited power in all proceedings; the city itself was held in subjection by them; and the common council, which had so lately declared for the king, now wholly under the direction of the victorious party, concurred in the petition to have him brought to trial.

The Commons appointed a committee of thirty-eight persons, to draw up a formal accusation or impeachment of his majesty; and a new court of justice was erected for trying him, of which Fairfax, Cromwell, Ireton, his son-in-law, Waller, and other persons, to the number of forty-seven, were appointed commissioners and judges. The few peers who still continued to sit in the upper house, only for form's sake, the rest having withdrawn, were formally summoned to assist at this trial; but not one of them would attend. However, their refusal did not prevent the court from proceeding with its business.

The lower house now voted that the sovereign power resided originally in the people, and that the authority of the nation was in the hands of the representatives of the people; this point, which the army determined by the voices of a few citizens, overturned the English constitution. The Commons, assembled in parliament, are doubtless the legal representatives of the nation, but so also are the

king and the peers. It has always been complained of, as a grievance, in other states, when private persons have been tried by commissioners; but here a sovereign was tried by commissioners who were his own subjects, and appointed by a small part of the parliament. It is not to be doubted, that the House of Commons thought they had a right to act in this manner. It was chiefly composed of independents, who all imagined that nature had placed no difference between them and kings, and the only distinction was on the side of the strongest. Ludlow, who was a colonel in the army, and one of the judges appointed on the king's trial, sufficiently proves by his memoirs, how much their pride was secretly flattered by having it in their power to pass sentence on one who had formerly been their master; and as this same Ludlow was a rigid Presbyterian, there is no room to doubt that fanaticism had a great share in this catastrophe; besides, he fully explains the whole spirit of the times, by quoting this passage out of the Old Testament: "The land cannot be cleansed from blood, but by the blood of him who shed it."

In short, Cromwell, Fairfax, the independents, and the Presbyterians, all concurred in thinking the death of the king absolutely necessary to their designs of setting up a commonwealth. Cromwell would not certainly flatter himself, at that time, with succeeding the king; he was only lieutenant-general in an army full of factions. He hoped, and

with good reason, that the reputation he had gained by his great military exploits would acquire him the first rank in that army, and in the republic, as well as an ascendency over the minds of the people; but had he at that time formed the design of getting himself acknowledged sovereign of the three kingdoms, he would not have deserved to have been so. The mind of man proceeds in every undertaking only by degrees, and those degrees necessarily brought on Cromwell's elevation, who owed it entirely to his courage and good fortune.

Charles I., king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, was beheaded on Jan. 30, 1649, by the hands of the executioner, at Whitehall, and his body was afterward removed to the church of Windsor, but has never been found since. There had been several instances formerly of kings of England deposed by act of parliament, and of the wives of kings, who had fallen by the hand of the executioner. Mary, Queen of Scots, had been sentenced to death by English commissioners, who had no other right over her life, than what a robber has over the defenceless person who falls into his hands; but there had never yet been an instance of any people bringing their own sovereign to the block, with all the pomp and solemnity of justice. We must go back three hundred years before our era, to find an example, in the person of Agis, king of Lacedæmon.

CHAPTER CLI.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

After the murder of Charles I. the Commons published a proclamation, forbidding all persons, on pain of death, to acknowledge the late king's son, or any other, as sovereign of England. They likewise abolished the House of Lords, where there were but sixteen peers sitting; so that, in all appearance, they took into their own hands the sovereignty of England and Ireland.

The House of Commons, which should be composed of five hundred and thirteen members, consisted then of only eighty. A new great seal was ordered to be made, on which were engraved these words: "The parliament of the commonwealth of England." The king's statue in the royal exchange had been already pulled down, and now this inscription was affixed in its room: "Charles, the last king, and the first tyrant."

This same house condemned to death several noblemen who had been taken prisoners fighting for their king. It was nothing extraordinary that those who had violated the law of nations should infringe the law of arms; to do which the more effectually, the duke of Hamilton, a Scottish nobleman, was in the number of those devoted to death. This treatment was the principal means of determining the Scots to acknowledge Charles II. for their

sovereign; but at the same time the law of liberty was so deeply riveted in all hearts, that they restricted the royal authority within as narrow bounds as the English parliament had done at the beginning of the troubles. The Irish received their new king without conditions; Cromwell then got himself appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and immediately set out for that kingdom with the flower of the army, and was attended with his usual success.

In the meantime Charles II. was invited over to Scotland by the parliament of that kingdom, but on the same conditions as they had proposed to his father. They insisted that he should be a Presbyterian, as the Parisians had insisted on his grandfather becoming a Roman Catholic. They restricted the royal prerogative in all things; whereas Charles was resolved upon having it preserved full and entire. His father's fate had in no way weakened in him those notions, which seem born in the heart of every monarch.

The first consequence of his being proclaimed king of Scotland was a civil war. The marquis of Montrose, a nobleman famous in those times for his personal valor and steady attachment to the royal family, had brought some soldiers from Germany and Denmark, whom he transported into the north of Scotland. Here he was joined by the Highlanders, and pretending to add the rights of conquest to those of his master, he was defeated, taken, and hanged upon a gallows thirty feet high.

In 1656, after the death of Montrose, the king finding himself absolutely without other resource, quitted Holland and put himself in the power of those who had so lately hanged his general, and faithful friend and protector, and entered the city of Edinburgh by the very gate where the quarters of Montrose were still exposed. The new commonwealth of England began to make instant preparations for a war with Scotland, resolved that one-half of the island should not be an asylum for a person who pretended to be king of the other also. This new commonwealth supported the change of government with as much prudence and conduct as it had shown rage and fury in bringing it about; and it was an unheard of thing, that a handful of private citizens, without any chief to command them, should keep the peers of the realm at a silent distance, strip the bishops of their dignity, restrain the people within bounds, maintain an army of sixteen thousand men in Ireland, and the same in England, support a formidable fleet well provided with necessaries, and punctually pay all demands, without any one member of the house enriching himself at the nation's expense. To provide for so great a charge, they observed the strictest economy in the management of the revenues formerly annexed to the crown, and made a sale of the forfeited lands of the bishops and chapters for ten years. In short, the nation paid a tax of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling per month; a tax ten times greater than that

of ship-money, which Charles I. had attempted to raise by his own authority, and which had been the first cause of so many disasters.

This parliament was not under Cromwell's direction, he being at that time on his Irish expedition, with his son-in-law, Ireton; but it was chiefly guided by the independent party, who still had a great sway. It was resolved by the house to assemble an army against the Scots, and to send Cromwell thither, next in command under General Fairfax; accordingly he received orders to quit Ireland, which he had almost subdued. General Fairfax refused to accept the command of the army against the Scots. He was not an independent, but he was a Presbyterian, and pretended that his conscience would not suffer him to attack his brethren, as they had not invaded England; and, notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of the house, he resigned his commission, and retired to end his days in peace. This was no extraordinary resolution, at a period, and in a country, where everyone acted by his own rules. This, however, proved the era of Cromwell's greatness. In June, 1650, he was appointed general in the place of Fairfax, and marched into Scotland at the head of an army accustomed to victory for over ten years. He defeated the Scottish army at Dunbar, and immediately took possession of the city of Edinburgh. Then he went in pursuit of Charles, who had advanced into England as far as Worcester, in hope that the English royalists would

rise in his behalf and join him; but his army consisted chiefly of newly raised troops, raw and undisciplined. Cromwell came up with, and attacked him on the banks of the Severn; and on September 13 gained the completest victory that had ever crowned his arms. He carried nearly seven thousand prisoners to London, who were sold as slaves to the American planters. The victorious army made itself master of all Scotland, while Cromwell pursued the king from place to place.

Imagination, the parent of fiction, never conceived a train of more extraordinary adventures, more pressing dangers, or more cruel extremities, than those which Charles experienced in his flight from his father's murderer. He was obliged to travel almost alone through by-paths, half spent with hunger and fatigue, till he arrived in Staffordshire. There he concealed himself a whole night and day, in the hollow of a large oak in the midst of a wood, surrounded by Cromwell's soldiers, who were everywhere in search of him. The oak was still to be seen at the beginning of this century. Astronomers have given it a place among the constellations of the Southern pole, and have thus perpetuated the remembrance of these disasters. This prince, after wandering from village to village, sometimes disguised like a postilion, sometimes in woman's apparel, and sometimes like a wood-cutter, at length found means to escape in a small fishing-boat, and was safely landed in Normandy, after having under-

gone, for six weeks, a train of adventures that almost exceed credibility.

Cromwell in the meantime returned to London in triumph. He was met a few miles from the city by the speaker of the house, accompanied by several of the members, and the mayor and magistrates of London in their formalities. The first thing he did, after his return, was to persuade the parliament to an abuse of the victory their troops had gained, and which was so flattering to the English. The house passed an act for incorporating Scotland, as a conquered country, with the English commonwealth, and royalty was abolished among the conquered, as it had already been among the victors.

Never had England been more powerful than since it had become a commonwealth. The parliament, which was wholly composed of republicans, formed the extraordinary project of joining the seven United Provinces to England, as it had lately incorporated Scotland. The stadtholder, William II., son-in-law of Charles I., had lately died, after having attempted to make himself absolute in Holland, as Charles I. had attempted it in England, but with no better success. He left a son in the cradle; and the English parliament hoped that the Dutch would as easily give up their stadtholder as the English had done its monarch, in which case the united republic of England, Scotland, and Holland might hold the balance of Europe; but the friends to the house of Orange having vigorously opposed this

project, which savored greatly of the enthusiasm of the times, this very enthusiasm determined the English Parliament to declare war against Holland. The two republics had several engagements at sea with various success. Some of the wisest among the members, who began to dread Cromwell's great influence and power, concurred in carrying on the war, that they might have a pretence for increasing the navy expense, which might oblige the parliament to disband the army, and thus by degrees overthrow the dangerous power of the general.

Cromwell saw into their schemes, as they had penetrated into his; and now he threw off the mask entirely, and showed himself in his proper colors. He told Major-General Vernon that he was compelled to do that which made his hair stand on end. He hastened to the house with a detachment of chosen men, followed by the officers who were most devoted to him, and set a guard upon the door; then he entered and took his place, and after some little pause: "Methinks," said he, "this parliament is ripe enough to be dissolved." Some of the members having reproached him with ingratitude, he started up in the middle of the house, and exclaimed, "The Lord has done with you, and has made choice of other instruments." After this fanatical speech he reviled all present in the most opprobrious terms, reproaching one as a drunkard, another as a whoremaster, and telling them all that the Gospel condemned them, and that they had nothing to do but to

dissolve themselves immediately. His officers and soldiers then entered the house, where pointing to the mace he bade one of them "take away that bauble." Major-General Harrison then went up to the speaker and compelled him to leave the chair; Cromwell then turning to the members, "It is you," added he, "that have forced me upon this. I have prayed to the Lord night and day that he would rather slay me than put me upon this work." Having said this, he turned out all the members one by one, locked the door himself, and carried away the key in his pocket.

What is still more strange is, that the parliament being thus dissolved by force, and there being no acknowledged legislative authority, everything did not fall into confusion. Cromwell called a council of his officers, and it was by them that the constitution of the state was truly changed. On this occasion there happened in England that which we have already seen happen in all countries in the world; the strong gave laws to the weak.

At Cromwell's instigation this council nominated one hundred and forty-four persons to represent the nation in parliament; these were chiefly taken from the lowest class of the people, such as shopkeepers, and journeymen handicraftsmen. One of the most active members of this parliament was a leather-seller, named Barebones, from whom this assembly was called Barebones' parliament.

Cromwell, as general, sent a written order to all

these members, requiring them to come and take upon them the sovereign power, and to govern the nation. This assembly, after sitting five months, during which time it became the object of ridicule and contempt to the whole nation, resolved to dissolve itself, and resigned the sovereign power into the hands of the council of war, who thereupon, of their own authority, declared Cromwell protector of the three kingdoms, and sent for the lord mayor and aldermen to join in the same. Oliver was then conducted to Whitehall with great ceremony, and there installed in the royal palace, where he afterward took up his residence. He was honored with the title of "Your Highness;" and the city of London invited him to a feast, where the same honors were shown him as had been paid to their kings. Thus did a private gentleman of Wales, from an amazing conjunction of courage and hypocrisy, rise to the kingly power, though under another name.

He was nearly fifty-three years of age when he attained the sovereign power, forty-two years of which time he had passed without having had any employ, civil or military. He was hardly known in 1642, when the House of Commons, of which he was a member, gave him a commission as major of horse. From this beginning it was that he rose to be master of that house and the army; and after having subdued Charles I. and his son, stepped into their throne; and without being king reigned more absolutely and fortunately than any king had ever done. He chose

a council consisting of fourteen of the principal officers, who had been the companions of his fortunes, to each of whom he assigned a pension of a thousand pounds sterling. The forces were paid one month in advance; the magazines of all kinds were regularly supplied. In the treasury, of which he had the sole management, there were three hundred thousand pounds sterling, and about one hundred and fifty thousand in that of Ireland. The Dutch sued to him for peace, and he dictated the conditions, which were, that they should pay him three hundred thousand pounds sterling; that the ships of the states-general should pay the compliment to the British flag; and that the young prince of Orange should never be restored to the offices or posts of his ancestors. This was the prince, who afterward dethroned James II., as Cromwell had dethroned his father.

All the nations of Europe vied with one another in courting the protector. France courted his alliance against Spain, and put Dunkirk into his hands. His admirals took the island of Jamaica from the Spaniards, which has ever since remained with the English. Ireland was entirely subdued, and treated like a conquered country. The estates of the vanquished were bestowed upon the victors, and those who were most attached to the royal cause died by the hands of the common executioner.

Cromwell, who governed with all the authority of a king, convoked several parliaments; but, as he

was always their master, he dissolved them whenever he pleased. He discovered all the plots that were formed against him, and prevented many insurrections. The peers were wholly excluded from his parliaments and lived in obscurity on their respective estates. He had the address to prevail on one of these parliaments to make him a tender of the royal dignity, in 1656, that he might refuse it, and by that means more effectually secure his real power. He resided in the royal palace, where he lived a retired and gloomy life, without the least pomp or extravagance. General Ludlow, who was his lieutenant in Ireland, relates, that when the protector sent his son, Henry Cromwell, over to that kingdom, he sent only one servant to attend him. He was always of a morose disposition: he was sober, temperate, saving, though not greedy of another's possessions; he was diligent and punctual in all public affairs. By his dexterous management he kept well with all sects; he did not persecute either those of the Romish communion, or of the Church of England, who now hardly dared to show their heads: he had chaplains of all parties: he was an enthusiast with the fanatics, now called the Presbyterians, whom he had cheated, subdued, and no longer feared; and would laugh at them, with the deists, placing confidence only in the independents, who could not exist but through him. By this conduct he preserved to his last hour an authority which had

been cemented with blood and supported by force and artifice.

Notwithstanding his sobriety, nature had limited his life to fifty-eight years. He died, on Sept. 13, 1658, of a common fever, occasioned probably by the anxiety of mind ever attendant upon tyranny; for toward the latter part of his life, he was under continual apprehensions of being assassinated: he never lay two consecutive nights in the same room. At his death he nominated his son, Richard, his successor in the protectorship. As soon as the breath was out of his body, one of his Presbyterian chaplains named Herries, comforted the bystanders with this speech: "Do not be dismayed, as he protected the Lord's people so long as he remained among us, he will protect us still more powerfully, now that he is ascended into heaven, where he will be seated at the right hand of Christ." The spirit of fanaticism was so powerful at that time, and Cromwell was held in such high esteem, that no one laughed at this ridiculous notion.

Notwithstanding the different interests which prevailed at that time, Richard Cromwell was peaceably proclaimed protector in London. The council issued an order for the funeral of the deceased protector, which was more magnificent than that of any of the kings of England. They chose as a model on this occasion the ceremonial that had been used at the death of Philip II., king of Spain. It is to be observed, that Philip was represented as being in

purgatory for two months, in an apartment hung with black, and lighted with only a few tapers. He was afterward represented as in heaven. The body was laid on a bed, richly adorned with gold, in an apartment hung with cloth of the same, and illuminated with upwards of five hundred tapers, the light of which was again reflected from silver plates, which formed a lustre equal to that of the sun at noonday. The same ceremony was observed at Oliver's funeral. He was laid on a bed of state, with the crown on his head, and a golden sceptre in his hand. The people gave little attention either to this imitation of a Romish ceremony, or to the magnificence with which it was accompanied. The dead body was embalmed and deposited in the royal vault, from whence Charles II., after his restoration, caused it to be removed, and exposed upon a gallows.

CHARLES II. OF ENGLAND

VOLTAIRE

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ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY.

CHAPTER CLII.

ENGLAND, UNDER CHARLES II.

THE second protector, Richard Cromwell, not having the talents of the first, could not have the same fortune. His sceptre was not supported by the sword; and as he wanted the resolution and dissimulation of Oliver, he knew not either how to make himself feared by the army, nor how to manage the different sects and parties which divided the nation.

Richard, finding himself treated with contempt and even insolence by his father's military council, thought to secure his authority by convoking a parliament, consisting of two houses; one of which was formed by the principal officers, representing the peers, and the other of deputies from the counties of England, Scotland, and Ireland, representing the three kingdoms; but the leaders of the army soon obliged him to dissolve this parliament, and of their own authority restored that parliament which

had brought King Charles I. to the scaffold, and which Oliver afterward so disgracefully dismissed. This parliament, which, as well as the army, was entirely independent, would have neither king nor protector. At its first meeting, the general council of officers presented an address to this assembly of their own making, petitioning, that all cavaliers should be forever excluded from their employs, and that the office of protector might be taken from Richard Cromwell, whom they, however, treated with great marks of respect, requiring a pension of twenty thousand pounds sterling to be settled upon him, and eight thousand upon his mother; but the parliament only granted him two thousand pounds,[1] and sent him an order to leave Whitehall in six days, which he obeyed without murmuring, and ever afterward led a private life. At that time the names of peers and bishops seemed wholly forgotten. Charles II. appeared abandoned by all the world, as well as Richard Cromwell; and it was thought by all the courts of Europe, that the English commonwealth was firmly established. However, the regal dignity was at length restored by an officer of Cromwell's, called Monk, who commanded the army which had conquered Scotland. The English parliament having formed a design to cashier the officers of that army, Monk, being apprised of their intention, marched directly to England, to try his fortune.

[1] This is a mistake; they granted him twenty thousand pounds to pay his debts.

The three kingdoms were at that time in a general state of anarchy. Monk had left part of his army in Scotland, but this was not sufficient to keep that nation in subjection. The other part, which marched under his command into England, had the parliament's forces to encounter. The parliament itself, which was equally apprehensive of either army, endeavored, if possible, to make itself master of both. Here was sufficient cause for renewing all the horror of the civil wars.

Monk, finding himself not sufficiently powerful to succeed to the protectorship, determined to restore the royal family; and instead of shedding blood, he found means to perplex affairs in such a manner by his negotiations, and increased the confusion in the kingdom to such a degree, that the nation of itself began to wish for a king. In a word, the restoration was effected without the least bloodshed. Lambert, one of Cromwell's generals, and a most zealous republican, in vain attempted to renew the war; he was prevented before he could assemble a sufficient number of his veterans, and was defeated and taken prisoner by Monk. A new parliament was now called. The peers, who had so long remained an idle and useless body, now returned to the house, and resumed their functions in the state. Both houses acknowledged Charles II. as their lawful sovereign, and he was accordingly proclaimed king in London, on May 8, 1660.

Charles II. thus invited to England, without hav-

ing in the least contributed to this restoration by any means of his own, and without having been restricted by any conditions, departed from Breda, the place of his retirement, and arrived in England amidst the shouts and acclamations of all the people; in a word, it hardly seemed that there had ever been a civil war.

The parliament ordered the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, his son-in-law, and Bradshaw, president of the high court of justice, to be dug out of their graves, and dragged through the streets on a sledge to the gallows. Of all those concerned in the bloody trial of Charles I. who were yet living, ten only were executed. All suffered without the least signs of repentance, refusing to acknowledge the king's authority, and returning God thanks, who had chosen them to die "for the most glorious and just of all causes." These were most of them either of the obstinate sect of independents, or else Anabaptists, who looked for the second coming of Christ, and the establishment of the fifth monarchy.

There were only nine bishops living at that time in England: the king soon completed the number. The ancient order and discipline was restored both in Church and State, and a round of magnificence and pleasures succeeded the gloomy ferocity which had so long taken possession of all minds. Charles introduced an excess of gallantry and diversions into the palace, yet stained with the blood of his father. The independents were no longer heard of. The

Puritans hid themselves. The spirit of the English nation underwent so total a change, that the late civil war became a subject of ridicule. The austere and gloomy sectaries, who had filled the kingdom with their enthusiastic notions, were now the butts of raillery to the gay and licentious courtiers. Deism, which the king himself seemed openly to profess, became the reigning religion among the many others then in the kingdom.

The Royal Society, which had been already formed, but was not established by the king's letters patent till 1661, began to soften the manners, by improving the understanding. The belles-lettres were revived, and made daily advances toward perfection. In Cromwell's time all the learning in the nation was confined to the application of a few passages of the Old and New Testaments, to feed the flame of public animosities, and screen the purposes of the blackest revolutions. But now the study of nature and her works was encouraged, and the plan of the famous Chancellor Bacon was closely pursued. The science of mathematics was in a short time carried to a degree of perfection that had never entered into the imagination of former adepts. A great man at length investigated the first principles of the general system of the universe, which till then had remained hidden; and while the other nations amused themselves with idle fables, the English found out the most sublime truths. All that the inquiries of past ages had effected in natural phi-

losophy was nothing in comparison with that one discovery of the nature of light. In the space of twenty years, the arts and sciences made the most amazing progress; this is a merit and a glory which will never pass away. The fruits of genius and industry are permanent, while the effects of ambition, fanaticism, and reigning passions, are swallowed up in the times which produced them. The spirit of the nation acquired immortal reputation under the reign of Charles II. though the administration did not.

The French spirit, which reigned at court, rendered it agreeable and brilliant; but by introducing a change in the manners, it subjected it to the designs of Louis XIV., and the English government, which was wholly biassed by French money and French councils, made the thinking part of the people regret at times the days of Cromwell, who had rendered his nation so respectable in the eyes of all Europe.

The parliaments of England and Scotland, after the king's restoration, vied with each other in giving him all the marks of condescension in their power, by way of reparation for the murder of his father. The English parliament in particular, in whose breast it chiefly lay to make him a powerful prince, granted a revenue of twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling, for the support of his dignity and administration; exclusive of the sum destined for the support of the navy, which far exceeded any-

thing that had been granted to Queen Elizabeth. Nevertheless, Charles's prodigality made him always in want; and the nation never forgave him the sale of Dunkirk, which Cromwell had acquired for the kingdom by his negotiations and arms, and which Charles parted with for the sum of two hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling.

The war which he engaged in against the Dutch at the beginning of his reign, proved not only very burdensome, as it cost the nation upward of seven and a half millions sterling, but it was likewise dishonorable; for Admiral de Ruyter sailed up as far as Chatham, and burned all the English ships lying in that harbor.

These miscarriages were intermixed with most terrible calamities. In 1666, London was ravaged by a plague, and the city almost entirely destroyed by a dreadful fire. This calamity following upon a plague, and in the height of an unsuccessful war with the Dutch, seemed almost irreparable. Nevertheless, to the astonishment of all Europe, London was rebuilt in three years, and arose more beautiful, regular, and commodious than it had been before. A tax upon coal, and the unwearied industry of the citizens, proved alone sufficient to effect this immense work. This was a mighty example of what mankind are capable of doing, and gave a degree of authenticity to the reports of the ancient cities in Asia and Egypt, which were so quickly rebuilt.

Not all these accidents, these mighty labors, the

war of 1672 against the Dutch, nor the cabals with which the court and parliament were filled, made any diminution in the pleasures and gallantry which Charles had brought with him into England, and which were the productions of the French climate, where he had resided for several years. A French mistress, French manners, and, above all, French money lorded it at court. Though all things underwent such a change in England, the love of liberty did not change among the people, nor that passion for absolute power which prevailed in the king and his brother, who succeeded him. This proved the source of numberless intrigues and plots, which embittered the general taste for pleasure, and clouded the festivities of the court with sundry executions. Zeal for religion or enthusiastic fury had no share in the effort made by Lord Shaftesbury and several other persons of distinction, to exclude the duke of York from the succession. Lord Shaftesbury was a declared deist. The duke of York was charged with being a Papist; but it was only the arbitrary Papist they stood in fear of.

Charles II. seems to have been the first king of England who bought the votes of the members of parliament by private pensions, at least in a country where there is hardly anything secret. This method was never publicly carried on; we have no proof that any of his predecessors had fallen on this way to shorten difficulties and prevent opposition.

The second parliament, which assembled in 1679,

began by impeaching eighteen members of the house of commons of the preceding parliament, which had sat eighteen years. They were accused of having accepted pensions; but as there was no law which prohibited the receiving of gratuities from the sovereign, they could not do anything against them.

This new system of politics adopted by the court did not prevent the house of commons from voting unanimously, that the duke of York, as being a professed Papist, should be excluded from the crown, in like manner as the Catholic leaguers in France had pretended to exclude Henry IV. The duke of Monmouth, son of Charles II. attempted to play the same part as the duke of Guise, by which he afterward brought his own head to the block; and the same motives which had engaged the Whigs to exclude the duke of York from the throne urged them to drive him thence, after he had ascended it. However, Charles, finding that that house which had deposed and murdered his father now wanted to disinherit his brother in his lifetime; and justly apprehensive of the consequences of such a design in regard to himself, dissolved the parliament, and never called another during his reign.

Everything was restored to quiet in 1681, the instant the royal authority and the privilege of parliament ceased to oppose each other. The king was now forced to live with economy upon his revenue and a pension of one hundred thousand pounds sterling, which was paid him by Louis XIV. He

kept only four thousand soldiers in pay, and he was reproached for keeping this small guard as if it had been a powerful standing army. Before him the kings of England were wont to have only one hundred men for their ordinary guard.

At that time there were only two opposite factions in the kingdom; the Tories, who possessed a blind submission to the royal authority, and the Whigs, who defended the rights of the people, and were for restricting the sovereign power. The latter has almost always had the superiority.

But what has established the power of the English nation is, that all the different parties since the time of Elizabeth have unanimously concurred in encouraging trade. That very parliament which cut off the head of its king, was employed in settling maritime affairs, as if it had been a time of profound peace. The blood of this murdered prince was yet smoking upon the scaffold, when this parliament, which was almost entirely composed of fanatics, passed the famous act of navigation, in 1650, which has been falsely attributed to Cromwell, and in which he had no other concern than being highly displeased with it; because this act, which was very prejudicial to the interest of Holland, proved one of the causes of the war between England and that republic; and as the operations of this war would be chiefly by sea, the great expense of the navy might oblige the parliament to lessen the army, of which Cromwell was general. This act has always

continued in force. The chief advantage the nation derived from this act was that it prohibited all nations from importing any merchandise into England but what was the produce of the country to which the ships belonged.

As early as the reign of Queen Elizabeth the English had an India Company, prior to that of the Dutch, and there was also a new one established afterward in King William's reign. From 1597 till 1612, the English had the sole possession of the whale fishery; but their greatest riches lay in their flocks. At first they knew only how to sell their wool; but since Elizabeth's time they have manufactured the finest cloths in Europe. Agriculture, which was for a long time neglected, is now better than the mines of Peru to them. The culture of lands was chiefly encouraged by the act of parliament in 1689, for the exportation of grain; and since that time the government has always allowed a bounty of five shillings for every measure of wheat exported to foreign markets, when such measure, which contains twenty-four of our Paris bushels, shall not be worth more than two livres eight sous sterling in London. The exportation of all other kinds of grain has been encouraged in like proportion; and not long since it was proved in parliament that the exportation of grain brought the kingdom in four years the sum of one hundred and seventy millions three hundred and thirty thousand French livres.

England had not all these great resources in the time of Charles II.: it was still indebted to the industry of France, to whom it paid over eight millions every year upon the balance of trade. The English had no manufactories for cloth, plate glass, copper, brass, steel, paper, or even hats. It was to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes that they were indebted for almost all these new and important branches of trade.

By this single circumstance we may judge how right the flatterers of Louis XIV. were in praising him for thus depriving France of so many useful subjects. Accordingly in 1687, the English government, sensible of the advantage it should gain by granting an asylum and support to the French artificers, made a collection for them amounting to fifteen hundred thousand francs, and maintained thirteen thousand of these new subjects in the city of London for one whole year.

This attention to commerce in a warlike nation has in the end enabled it to pay subsidies to half of Europe against the French; and within our knowledge its credit has increased to such a degree without any augmentation in its funds, that the government debt to private persons has in some years amounted to more than seventy millions of our money. This is precisely the situation of the kingdom of France at present, where the government owes nearly the same yearly sum in the king's name to the annuitants and purchasers of public employs.

This expedient, which is unknown to many other nations, especially to the Asiatics, is the melancholy fruit of our wars, and the last effort of political industry.

CHAPTER CLIII.

ITALY, AND ESPECIALLY ROME, AT THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY — THE COUNCIL OF TRENT — THE CORRECTION OF THE CALENDAR, ETC.

While France and Germany, almost subverted at the end of the sixteenth, and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, lay languishing without trade, deprived of arts and police, and plunged in anarchy; the Italians in general began to taste the sweets of repose, and vied with each other in cultivating the liberal arts, which were either unknown to other nations, or practised by them in a rude manner. Naples and Sicily were free from revolutions, and wholly undisturbed. When Pope Paul IV., at the instigation of his nephews, undertook to deprive Philip II. of these two kingdoms, by the arms of the French king, Henry II., he pretended to make them over to the duke of Anjou, afterward Henry III., in consideration of the payment of twenty thousand gold ducats a year instead of the former annual tribute of six thousand, and on the special condition that his nephew should enjoy certain large and independent principalities in those kingdoms.

This was at that time the only tributary kingdom

in the world. It was pretended that the court of Rome determined it should be no longer so, and proposed to annex it to the papal see, which would have given the popes such a degree of weight and authority, as would have made them masters of the balance of power in Italy: but it was impossible that Pope Paul IV., or all Italy together, could take Naples from Philip II., and afterward from the king of France, and thus strip the two most powerful monarchs of Christendom. This was only an unhappy rash project of Pope Paul, who was insulted at his first setting out by the famous duke of Alva, at that time viceroy of Naples, who ordered all the bells and other brass work in Benevento, which belonged to the holy see, to be melted down and cast into cannon. This war was finished almost as soon as it was begun. The duke of Alva flattered himself with the hope of taking Rome, as Charles V. had done; but at the end of a few months he went thither to kiss the pontiff's feet, restored the bells of Benevento, and all was quiet.

In 1560, a shocking scene was exhibited after the death of Pope Paul IV., by the condemnation of his two nephews, the prince of Palliano, and Cardinal Caraffa; and the sacred college could not, without horror, behold the death of this cardinal, who was strangled by the orders of Pope Pius IV., as Cardinal Poli had been by those of Leo X.; but one act of cruelty does not make a cruel reign, and the Roman nation was not oppressed.

The Council of Trent closed in 1563, under the pontificate of Pius IV., in a peaceable manner, without having produced any new effects either among the Catholics, who held all the articles of faith taught by that council, nor among the Protestants, who rejected them: it made no change in the customs of those Catholic nations who adopted certain rules of discipline different from those of the council. France in particular retained what are called the liberties of the Gallican Church, which are in effect the liberties of the nation. Twenty-four articles of this council, which were repugnant to the rights of the civil jurisdiction, were never admitted in that kingdom: by these articles the superintendence of all hospitals was vested in the bishops only. The pope alone was to give sentence in criminal causes on the bishops, and the laity were in several cases made subject to the episcopal jurisdiction. These were the reasons why the French governments rejected the discipline established by the council. The kings of Spain received it into their dominions with the greatest respect, but at the same time with considerable private modification. Venice followed the example of Spain. The Roman Catholics of Germany insisted upon the use of the consecrated cup, and that priests should be allowed to marry. Pope Pius IV., by his briefs to the emperor, Maximilian II., and the archbishop of Mentz, allowed communicating in both ways; but remained inflexible in the article of the marriage of the priests. The

"History of the Popes" gives us for a reason that Pius, having gotten rid of the council, had nothing more to fear; hence it came, adds the writer of this history, that this pope, who made no scruple of violating all laws, divine and human, was so strict with regard to celibacy. It is very false to say that Pius IV. violated all laws, divine and human; and it is very evident that by preserving the ancient discipline of sacerdotal celibacy, which had been so long established in the West, he acted in conformity with an opinion which had become a law in that Church.

All the other customs of church discipline peculiar to Germany remained on their original foundation. The disputes prejudicial to the secular power no longer raised those wars they had formerly done; there were still some few difficulties, some intricate points between the Church of Rome and the Roman Catholic states; but these little disputes did not cost any bloodshed. The interdict which Pope Paul V. laid upon the republic of Venice was the only quarrel of moment which happened afterward. The religious wars in France and Germany found them other employments; and the court of Rome usually kept fair with the Roman Catholic princes, for fear they should turn Protestant; but wretched was the fate of those weak princes who had such a powerful monarch as Philip to oppose, who was master in the conclave.

Italy was deficient in respect to general police;

this was its real scourge. Surrounded by the arts, and in the very bosom of peace, it had been a long time infested with public robbers, like ancient Greece in the more barbarous times. Whole troops of armed banditti marauded from one province to another, from the frontiers of Milan to the farther end of the kingdom of Naples, either purchasing the protection of the petty princes, or obliging them to wink at their rapines. The papal see could not clear its dominions of them, till the time of Sixtus V., and even after his pontificate they appeared sometimes. The example of these freebooters encouraged private persons to put in practice the shocking custom of assassination: the use of the stiletto was but too common in towns, while the country was overrun by banditti. The students of Padua used to knock people on the heads as they were passing under the piazzas, which ran along each side of the street.

Notwithstanding these disorders, which were but too common, Italy was the most flourishing country in Europe, if it was not the most powerful. Those foreign wars were no longer heard of which had filled it with desolation after the reign of Charles VIII., nor the intestine commotions which had armed principality against principality, and town against town; nor those conspiracies which had formerly been so frequent. Naples, Venice, Rome, and Florence, attracted the admiration of foreigners, by their magnificence and encourage-

ment of all the arts. The more refined pleasures were truly known only to this climate, and religion presented itself to the people under that specious dress which is so necessary for nice imaginations. Italy alone abounded with temples worthy of the ancient grandeur, and they were all surpassed by St. Peter's at Rome.

If superstitious ceremonies, false traditions, and feigned miracles still prevailed among these people, the wise despised them, who well knew that errors have in all times been the amusement of the vulgar. Perhaps our northern writers, who have exclaimed so violently against these erroneous customs, have not rightly distinguished between the people and those by whom they are led. Certainly no one would entertain a contemptible idea of the ancient Roman senate, because the temples of Æsculapius were lined with the offerings of those whom nature cured of their maladies; because a thousand votive tablets of travellers escaped from shipwreck adorned or rather disfigured the altars of the god Neptune; and that in Egnatia the incense burnt and smoked of its own accord on the holy stone. Many a Protestant, after having tasted the delights of a residence at Naples, has, at his return, exhausted himself in invectives against the three miracles which are performed on certain appointed days in that city, when the blood of St. Januarius, St. John the Baptist, and St. Stephen, which is kept in bottles, liquefies on approaching the heads of these saints.

They accuse the chiefs of those churches with ascribing these idle miracles to the Deity. The wise and prudent Addison says that he never saw "a more blundering trick." All these writers might have observed that these institutions have no bad effects upon the morals of the people, which should be the principal concern of every government, civil and ecclesiastical; that in all probability the warm imaginations of the natives of those hot climates stand in need of visible signs to convince them that they are continually under the immediate hand of Providence; and lastly, they should consider that these signs cannot be laid aside till they have fallen into contempt with those who now hold them in so much reverence.

To Pope Pius IV. succeeded the Dominican, Gisleri, who took the name of Pius V. and was so hated even in Rome itself for the rigorous manner in which he enforced the exercise of the inquisitorial jurisdiction, which was in all other places so strenuously opposed by the secular courts. The famous bull in *Cœna Domini,* that first appeared under Pope Paul III. and was afterward published by Pius V., and in which the prerogative of crowned heads was insulted, disgusted every court, and was much censured by the universities.

The extinction of the order of the Humiliati was one of the principal events of his pontificate. The monks of this order, which was chiefly established in the duchy of Milan, led very scandalous lives.

St. Charles Borromeo, archbishop of Milan, endeavored, in 1471, to work a reformation in them, upon which four of them entered into a conspiracy against his life; one of them fired upon him with a musket as he was at prayers in his own house, but wounded him only slightly. The good man interceded with the pope in their behalf; but his holiness punished their crime with death, and abolished the whole order.

Pius V. immortalized his memory by his vigorous defence of Christianity against the Turks. His greatest eulogium was made in Constantinople itself, where they ordered public rejoicings on account of his death.

Gregory XIII., of the family of Buoncampagno, succeeded Pius V., and rendered his name famous to posterity by the correction of the calendar, which is called after him; in which he imitated Julius Cæsar. The continual need there was of correcting the year in all nations shows the slow progress of the useful arts. Mankind had found the way to ravage the world from one end to the other before they knew how to compute time or regulate their days. The ancient Romans had only ten lunar months at first, and their year consisted of no more than three hundred and four days, and afterward of three hundred and fifty-five. The attempts to remedy this false computation were so many errors. All the high priests, from the time of Numa Pompilius, were the astronomers of their nation, as they

were also among the Babylonians, the Egyptians, the Persians, and almost all the Asiatics. Their knowledge of time rendered them more venerable to the people; for nothing gives a greater degree of authority than the knowledge of useful things which are unknown to the vulgar.

As the pontifical dignity among the Romans was always vested in a senator, Julius Cæsar, in quality of high priest, corrected the calendar so far as he was able; in which he had recourse to the assistance of Sosigenes, a Greek mathematician of Alexandria, which city had been made the centre of sciences and commerce by Alexander the Great: it was the most famous school for the mathematics in those times; and thence the Egyptians, and even the Hebrews themselves, had learned a great part of their useful knowledge. The Egyptians knew before how to raise enormous masses of stone; but the Greeks taught them all the polite arts, or rather practised them among them without ever being able to produce imitators. In fact, we do not find any one person of this slavish and effeminate nation distinguished for the Grecian arts.

The Christian pontiffs had the regulating of the year as well as the pontiffs of ancient Rome, because it was their province to fix the time for observing the festivals. The first Council of Nice, held in 325, observing the confusion introduced by time into the Julian calendar, consulted, as Cæsar had done, the Greeks of Alexandria, who returned for answer

that the vernal or spring equinox happened in that year on the twenty-first day of March; the fathers then regulated the time for celebrating the feast of Easter according to that principle.

Two very slight mistakes in Cæsar's computation, and in that of the astronomers consulted by this council, increased considerably in a number of ages. The first of these mistakes happens from the famous golden number of Meton the Athenian, which allows nineteen years for the revolution which the moon makes in returning to the same point in the heavens: there wanted only an hour and a half, an error almost imperceptible in one century, but which in a succession of ages became very considerable. The same may happen with regard to the sun's apparent course, and the points which determine the equinox and solstices. The vernal or spring equinox, which at the time of the Council of Nice happened on the twenty-first day of March, had gained an advance of ten days, and happened the eleventh of the same month. This precession of the equinoxes, the cause of which was unknown to all the ancients, and was not discovered till of late years, is occasioned by a particular motion in the earth, which motion is completed in the space of twenty-five thousand nine hundred years, and occasions the equinoxes and solstices to pass successively through all the points of the zodiac. This motion is the effect of gravity, of which Newton alone has discovered and calculated the phenomena, which

seemed beyond the reach of human understanding. In the time of Gregory XIII. they never troubled themselves about guessing at the cause of this precession of the equinoxes; the question was to remedy the error which began to make a sensible confusion in the civil year. Gregory on this occasion consulted all the famous astronomers of Europe. A physician named Lilio, a native of Rome, had the honor of furnishing the most simple and easy method for restoring the order of the year, such as we now see it in the new calendar. It was only to take ten days from that year (1582), and by this easy precaution to prevent any disorder in the ages to come. This Lilio has since been forgotten, and the calendar bears the name of Pope Gregory, just as Sosigenes's name was lost in that of Cæsar. It was not thus among the ancient Greeks: with them every artist enjoyed the honor of his own invention.

It is, however, to the honor of Gregory that he was indefatigable in establishing this necessary correction; for he met with more difficulty in getting it received in other nations than in having it settled by the mathematicians. France held out for some months; till at last upon an edict issued by Henry III., and registered by the Parliament of Paris, they began to reckon as they should. But Maximilian II. could not persuade the Diet of Augsburg that the equinox was advanced ten days. It was feared that the court of Rome, in taking upon itself to instruct other nations, would pretend to a

right of governing them. Thus the old calendar continued to be used for some time even by the Catholic states of Germany. The Protestants of all communions have obstinately refused to admit a truth coming from the pope, which should have been embraced, even had it been proposed by the Turks.

The latter part of Gregory XIII.'s pontificate was rendered famous by the embassy of submission which he received from Japan. Rome extended its spiritual conquests to the farther end of the globe, while it suffered losses at home. Three kings or princes of Japan, which was at that time divided into several sovereignties, sent each one of their nearest relatives to compliment Philip II., king of Spain, as the most powerful of all Christian kings, and the pope as the father of all kings. The letters written by the princes to the pope all began with an act of adoration. The first, which was from the king of Bungo, began: "To the adorable, who holds the place of the king of heaven upon earth;" and ended with these words: "I address your holiness with reverence and awe, whom I adore, and whose most holy feet I kiss." The other two were nearly in the same style. Spain at that time hoped that Japan would become one of its provinces; and the holy see already beheld one-third of that vast empire subject to its ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The people of Rome would have been very happy under Gregory's government had not the public tranquillity been troubled by banditti. He abolished

some grievous imposts, and did not dismember the state to provide for his bastard, as some of his predecessors had done.

CHAPTER CLIV.

POPE SIXTUS V.

The pontificate of Sixtus V. is more famous in history than those of Gregory XIII. and Pius V., though these two pontiffs performed greater things; the one having signalized himself by the battle of Lepanto, of which he was the principal cause, and the other by his correction of time.

It sometimes happens that one man, by his character and the singularity of his elevation, shall attract the regard of posterity more than others by the most memorable actions. The great disproportion which appeared between the birth of Sixtus V., who was the son of a poor day-laborer, and his elevation to the supreme pontificate, adds a double lustre to his reputation; however, we have already observed that meanness or obscurity of birth was never looked upon as an obstacle to this dignity by a religion and a court where merit is entitled to employments of every rank, notwithstanding that they may sometimes be the rewards of intrigue and cabal. Pius V. was of mean origin; Adrian VI. was the son of an artificer; Nicholas V. was obscurely born; the father of the famous John XXII., who added a third circle to the tiara, and

wore three crowns without possessing a foot of land, was a cobbler at Cahors; as was likewise the father of Pope Urban. Adrian IV., one of the greatest of the pontiffs, was the son of a beggar, and followed that profession himself. The history of the Church is filled with instances of this nature, to the encouragement of private virtue and the confusion of human pride. Those who have endeavored to exalt the birth of Sixtus V. do not consider that in so doing they lessen his personal merit, by taking from him the praise of having overcome the first obstacles. There is a greater distance between a swineherd, which he was in his childhood, and the lowest places he held in his orders, than between that place and the papal throne. Memoirs of his life have been composed at Rome from journals, which furnish little more than dates, and from panegyrics, which inform us of nothing at all. The Cordelier who has written the life of Sixtus V. begins by saying that he has "the honor to treat of the noblest, best, and greatest of all pontiffs, princes, and philosophers, the glorious and immortal Sixtus:" and by this very beginning destroys all credit in himself.

The spirit of Sixtus V. and of his reign is the essential part of his history: what particularly distinguishes him from other popes is, that he never acted in any respect like others. His behaving in the most haughty, and even oppressive manner, while he was a private monk; the subduing of the heat of

his temper, as soon as he was made a cardinal; the appearing for the space of fifteen years incapable of all kind of public business, especially that of commanding as a superior, in order to determine one day in his favor the suffrages of all those who thought to govern under his name; the resuming of all his pride the instant he ascended the throne; the unheard-of severity he exercised in his pontificate, and the nobleness of his undertakings; the embellishing of the city of Rome, and his leaving the Roman treasury immensely rich at his decease; the disbanding of the troops, and even of the body-guards of his predecessors, and the dispersing of the numerous banditti, by the sole power of his laws; and his making himself feared by everyone, by his place and character, were actions that made his name illustrious, even among the illustrious ones of Henry IV. and Elizabeth, his contemporaries. Other sovereigns at that time ran the hazard of losing their thrones, by engaging in any undertaking without the assistance of the numerous armies which they afterward kept on foot. It was not thus with the sovereigns of Rome, who, by uniting the priestly with the kingly dignity, did not even stand in need of a guard.

Sixtus V. gained a great reputation by the improvements he made in the buildings and police of the city of Rome; Henry IV. had done the same in that of Paris; but this was the least of Henry's merits, whereas it was the principal one of Sixtus

V., and we find that this pope executed greater things in this way than the French monarch. He ruled over a peaceable, and at that time a very industrious people; he found amidst the ruins, and in the example, of ancient Rome, and also in the labors of his predecessors, everything he could wish to further his great designs.

In the time of the Roman Cæsars, fourteen immense aqueducts, supported upon arches, conveyed whole rivers to Venice, for the length of several miles, and supplied a hundred and fifty fountains and one hundred and eighteen public baths in that city with water, besides what went to form those artificial seas, on which they represented naval combats. A hundred thousand statues adorned the public squares, highways, temples, and houses. Ninety-six colossuses all raised on porticos, and forty-eight obelisks of granite, cut in the quarries of Upper Egypt, filled the beholder with amazement, and puzzled the imagination to conceive how such immense masses could have been transported from the tropics to the banks of the Tiber. There remained a few of these aqueducts to be restored by the popes; some obelisks to raise, which were buried under ruins, and some statues to dig up.

Sixtus V. restored the fountain of Martia, whose spring is near ancient Præneste, twenty miles distant from Rome, and brought it over an aqueduct thirteen thousand paces in length, for which it was necessary to raise arches upon a road seven miles

long. This, which would have been a trifling work for the Roman Empire, was a great deal for modern Rome in its poor and circumscribed state.

By his care five of the ancient obelisks were raised. The name of the architect, Fontana, who raised them, is still famous at Rome; while the artists who cut them, and those who transported them to so great a distance, are no longer known. We read in some travellers, and in a hundred writers who have copied after them, that when the Vatican obelisk was being raised on its pedestal, the ropes used for that purpose were found too short, upon which, notwithstanding that it had been expressly prohibited, under pain of death, for anyone to speak during the operation, one of the common people cried out, "Wet the ropes." These idle tales, which make history ridiculous, are the effects of ignorance. The capstans which they made use of on this occasion left no room for having recourse to so trifling an assistance.

The work which gave modern Rome some degree of superiority over the ancient, was the cupola of St. Peter's church. There were but three monuments of this kind remaining in the world: part of the dome of the temple of Minerva at Athens, that of the Pantheon at Rome, and of the great mosque at Constantinople, formerly the church of St. Sophia, built by Justinian: but these domes, though sufficiently lofty within, were too flat and low on the outside. Bruneleschi, who restored architecture

in Italy, in the fourteenth century, had, by an effort of art, remedied this defect in the cathedral of Florence, by raising two cupolas one upon the other: but these cupolas had still something of the Gothic in them, and wanted the grand proportions. Michelangelo Buonarroti, who was a painter, sculptor, and architect, and equally great in all three branches, had, as early as the pontificate of Julius II., given the designs of the two domes of St. Peter's; and Sixtus V. caused this work, which exceeds all of its kind, to be built in the space of twenty-two months.

The library, which was first set on foot by Pope Nicholas V., was so considerably augmented by Sixtus, that he might very well pass for the true founder. The immense building which contains the books, is itself a beautiful monument. There was not at that time the equal of this library in Europe, either for the largeness or curiosity of the collection; but the city of Paris has greatly excelled Rome in this respect; and though the king's library at Paris is not to be compared to the Vatican, in regard to the architecture, there is a much greater number of books; they are disposed in better order, and strangers can much more easily have the reading of them.

It was the misfortune of Sixtus V. and his dominions, that he impoverished his subjects by all these great foundations, whereas Henry IV. eased his of their load. Both of them left nearly the same sum

in ready money in the public treasury at their deaths; for although Henry IV. had forty millions in reserve, which he could dispose of as he pleased, there was not above twenty in the vaults of the Bastille; whereas the five millions of gold crowns deposited by Sixtus V. in the castle of St. Angelo, amounted to very nearly twenty millions of our livres at that time. Such a sum could not be taken out of the circulation, in a state almost wholly void of manufactures and commerce, such as Rome is, without impoverishing the inhabitants: and to amass this treasure, and supply all other expenses, Sixtus was obliged to give a greater latitude to the sale of public employs, than either Sixtus IV. or Julius II. Leo X. began this practice; Sixtus aggravated the burden. He raised annuities at eight, nine, and ten per cent., for the payment of which an addition was made to the taxes. The people forgot that he was embellishing Rome, and only felt that he was impoverishing them; so that this pontiff was more hated than he was admired.

We should always consider the popes in two points of view: as sovereigns of a State, and as the heads of the Church. Sixtus V. in quality of chief pontiff, wanted to revive the times of Gregory VII. He declared Henry IV., at that time king of Navarre, incapable of succeeding to the crown of France. He deprived Queen Elizabeth of her kingdoms by a bull, and, had Philip's Invincible Armada landed in England, the bull might have been carried into

execution. The manner in which he behaved toward Henry III., after the murder of the duke of Guise, and the cardinal, his brother, was not quite so violent. He contented himself with only declaring him excommunicated, unless he did penance for those two murders. This was imitating St. Ambrose, and acting like Adrian IV., who required Henry II. of England to do public penance for the murder of Becket, afterward canonized under the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury. The French king, Henry III., had just caused two princes to be murdered in his own palace; they were dangerous subjects indeed, but they had not been allowed a trial; and it would even have been a very difficult matter to have them regularly convicted of any absolute crime. They were the leaders of a fatal league, but a league which the king himself had signed. All the circumstances of this twofold assassination were truly horrible; and without entering upon such excuses as might be alleged from the politics and unhappy situation of affairs in those times, the safety of humankind seemed to require that a curb should be put to such violences. Sixtus lost the fruit of his austere and inflexible behavior, by supporting only the rights of the triple crown and the sacred college, and not those of humanity; and by not censuring the murder of the duke of Guise so strongly as that of the cardinal; by insisting only on the pretended immunity of the Church, and the right claimed by the popes of try-

ing the cardinals; by ordering the king of France to release the cardinal of Bourbon and the archbishop of Lyons, whom he detained in prison from the strongest reasons of state; and lastly, by commanding him to repair within sixty days to Rome, to expiate his offence. It is undoubtedly true, that Sixtus, as head of all Christians, might say to a Christian prince, "Clear yourself before God of this twofold homicide;" but he had not power to say to him, "It belongs to me alone to try your ecclesiastical subjects; it belongs to me to try you in my court."

This pope seemed still less to preserve the greatness and impartiality of his office, when, after the murder of Henry III. by the monk, James Clement, he used these very words, in a speech which he made to the cardinals, which has been faithfully transmitted by the secretary of the consistory.

"This death, which occasions so much surprise and admiration, will hardly be credited by posterity. A powerful king surrounded by a numerous army, who had compelled the city of Paris to sue to him for mercy, is slain by a single stroke of a knife, by a poor monk. Certainly this great example has been given, in order that everyone might know the power of God's judgment."

Sixtus was right in refusing the empty honors of a funeral service to Henry III., whom he considered as excluded from the benefit of prayers. Accordingly he said in the same consistory: "I owe them to the

king of France, but not to Henry of Valois, who died impenitent."

All things yield to interest: this very pope, who had so proudly deprived Elizabeth and the king of Navarre of their kingdoms; who had signified to King Henry III. that he expected him at Rome to answer for his conduct, within sixty days, or else he would excommunicate him, refused after all to join with the league and the king of Spain against Henry IV., though at that time a heretic. He was sensible that if Philip II. succeeded, this prince, master of France, Milan, and Naples, would quickly become master likewise of the papal see, and of all Italy. Sixtus, then, did what every prudent man would have done in his place; he chose rather to expose himself to all Philip's resentment than to ruin himself by lending a hand to ruin Henry.

He died in this state of uncertainty, not daring to assist Henry, and fearing Philip. The people of Rome, who groaned beneath the weight of taxes, and who hated so oppressive and cruel an administration, grew outrageous upon the death of Sixtus — Aug. 26, 1690 — and were with great difficulty restrained from disturbing the funeral ceremony, and tearing to pieces the person whom they had adored on their knees. The riches he left behind him were squandered within less than a year after his death, like those of Henry IV., a common consequence, which sufficiently evinces the vanity of all human designs.

CHAPTER CLV.

THE SUCCESSORS OF SIXTUS V.

We may see how much men are governed by education, country, and prejudices of every kind. Gregory XIV., a native of Milan, and a subject of the king of Spain, was governed by the Spanish faction, whom Sixtus, a native of Rome, had always opposed. This pope sacrificed everything to Philip II. An army of Italians was raised to carry desolation into France, with the very money which Sixtus had amassed in order to defend Italy; and this army being beaten and dispersed, Gregory had nothing left but the shame of having impoverished himself for Philip II. and being tyrannized over by him.

Clement VIII. — Aldobrandini — a Florentine, behaved with more spirit and address; he knew very well that it was to the interest of the papal see to hold, as much as possible, the balance of power between France and the house of Austria. This pope added the duchy of Ferrara to the ecclesiastical demesnes. This was another effect of those feudal laws, so intricate and so contested, and an evident consequence of the weakness of the empire. The countess Mathilda, of whom we have so largely treated in the foregoing part of this work, had given the popes Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio, together with several other lands. The emperors

always disputed the donation of these demesnes, which were fiefs to the crown of Lombardy. They became, in spite of the empire, fiefs to the papal see; as well as Naples, which was also held of the popes, after it had been held of the emperors. It is but of late years that Modena and Reggio have been formerly declared imperial fiefs: but ever since the time of Gregory VII. they, as well as Ferrara, had been dependent on the see of Rome; and the house of Modena, which had been formerly proprietor of these lands, only held them by the title of vicars to the holy see. The courts of Vienna and the imperial diets in vain pretended to be lords paramount. Clement VIII. took Ferrara from the house of Este, and what might have occasioned a violent war produced nothing but protests. Since that time Ferrara has been almost a desert.

This pope performed the ceremony of giving absolution and discipline to Henry IV., in the persons of the cardinals Duperron and Ossat; but it was evident how much the see of Rome stood in awe of Philip II. by the management and artifices which Pope Clement made use of to bring about Henry's reconciliation to the Church. This prince had solemnly abjured the reformed religion; and yet two-thirds of the cardinals in the consistory refused to grant his absolution. His ambassadors could with great difficulty prevent the pope from making use of this formula: "We restore Henry to his royalty." The pope's ministry would gladly have acknowl-

edged Henry as king of France, and have opposed this prince to the house of Austria; but at the same time it supported, as far as it was able, its ancient pretension to dispose of kingdoms.

Under Paul V. — Borghese — the old quarrel about the secular and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which had formerly cost so much blood, was revived. The senate of Venice prohibited any new donations to be made to churches, without the concurrence of the state; in particular, the alienations of landed estates in favor of monks. It likewise thought it had a right of arresting and trying a canon of Vicenza, and an abbot of Nervese, who had been convicted of extortion and murder.

The pope wrote to the republic, that the sentence and imprisonment of the two ecclesiastics was an injury offered to God's honor, and required that the decree of the senate should be delivered to his nuncio, together with the persons of the two culprits, who could be tried only by the Roman courts.

Paul V., who, but a little time before, had obliged the republic of Genoa to submit on a similar occasion, thought to meet with the same pliability in that of Venice. The senate sent an ambassador extraordinary to defend its privileges. Paul answered the ambassador, that neither the arguments nor the privileges of the Venetians were of any consequence, and that they must obey. The senate would not obey. Upon this the doge and senators were all excommunicated, and the whole state laid under

an interdict, on April, 17, 1606; that is to say, the clergy were prohibited, under pain of eternal damnation, from saying mass, celebrating divine service, administering the sacraments, or giving their assistance in burying the dead. This was the manner in which Gregory VII. and his successors had treated several emperors, being sure at that time that the people would rather abandon their emperors than their churches; and depending upon having some potentate ready to invade the dominions of those who were excommunicated. But the times were now changed. Paul V. by this violent procedure, ran the risk of not being obeyed, and of urging the Venetians to shut up their churches, and renounce the Roman Catholic religion. They might easily have embraced either the Greek, the Lutheran, or the Calvinistic faith; and there was actually a motion made to separate from the pope's communion. But the change could not have been effected without some trouble; of which the king of Spain might have taken advantage. The senate contented itself with prohibiting the reading of the mandate throughout its territories. The chief vicar of the bishopric of Padua, when this prohibition was intimated to him, made answer to the Podesta, that he would act as God inspired him: but the Podesta replying, that God had inspired the council of ten to order everyone to be hanged who should disobey their injunction, the interdict was not published in any place; and the court of Rome was very glad to

let the Venetians continue in the profession of the Catholic religion, in spite of her authority.

There were only a few of the religious orders who obeyed the pope's mandate. The Jesuits would not be the first to set the example, and therefore sent a deputation from their body to the general assembly of the Capuchins, who told those fathers, that "the eyes of the whole universe were fixed upon the Capuchins in this great affair, and waited for their example to know how to act." The Capuchins, without hesitation, shut up their churches. The Jesuits and the Theatins did the same: upon which the senate shipped them all off to Rome, and the Jesuits in particular were banished forever.

The king of Spain stirred up the pope against the Venetians, and Henry IV. declared in their favor. The cities of Verona, Padua, Bergamo, and Brescia, took up arms; and the republic raised four thousand soldiers in France. The pope on his side ordered four thousand Corsicans and some Catholic Swiss to be raised. This little army was to be commanded by Cardinal Borghese. The Turks gave public thanks to God for this misunderstanding between the pope and the Venetians. Henry IV. had the honor, as I have already mentioned, of being the arbiter in this difference, and of excluding Philip from the mediation. Paul V. had the mortification of not being able even to get the arrangement concluded at Rome. Cardinal de Joyeuse, who was sent envoy to Venice by the king of France, revoked, in

the pope's name, the sentence of excommunication and interdiction, in 1607. The pope, thus abandoned by Spain, behaved with greater moderation, and the Jesuits continued banished from the republic for more than fifty years; till at length they were recalled in 1657, at the instance of Pope Alexander VII., but they have never been able to re-establish their credit there.

Paul V. from that time would never make any decision which could call his authority in question. He was in vain importuned upon the article of faith, concerning the immaculate conception of the holy virgin; he contented himself with forbidding anyone to teach the contrary in public, that he might not give offence to the Dominicans, who pretend that she was conceived like others, in original sin. The Dominicans were at that time very powerful both in Spain and Italy.

This pontiff applied himself to the embellishment of Rome, and collected the best works in sculpture and painting. Rome is indebted to him for its finest fountains, particularly that which throws its waters out of an antique vase, taken from the baths of Vespasian, and that which is called the *Aqua Paola,* an ancient work of Augustus, which Paul V. restored, and caused water to be brought to it by an aqueduct thirty-five thousand paces long, like that of Sixtus V. There seemed to be a contest who should leave the most beautiful monuments behind him in Rome. This pope finished the palace of Monte Cavallo.

The palace of Borghese is one of the most considerable. Rome became the most beautiful city in the world. Urban VIII. built the high altar in St. Peter's, the columns and ornaments of which would everywhere else appear stupendous works, but which here are only in a just proportion. It is the masterpiece of the Florentine, Bernini,[1] whose works are worthy of being admitted among those of his countryman, Michelangelo.

This Urban VIII., whose name was Barberino, was a lover of all the arts; and was particularly successful in Latin poetry. The people of Rome during his pontificate enjoyed all the sweets which talents

[1] John Laurentius Bernini was born at Naples, though of a Tuscan family; he excelled in the different arts of painting, sculpture, architecture, and mechanics. Pope Gregory XV. procured his admittance as a knight into the Order of Christ in Portugal; and Urban VIII. made him overseer of the edifice of St. Peter's. In this church there are fifteen different pieces of his workmanship. The principal of these are the altar-piece and the tabernacle, the chair of St. Peter, the tombs of Urban VIII. and Alexander VII. the equestrian statue of Constantine, the colonnade, consisting of three hundred and twenty vast pillars of freestone; and having on its flat roof eighty-six statues of saints twice as large as life. He also designed the fountain in the square of Navonna, the church of St. Andrew of the novitiate of the Jesuits, which is esteemed a perfect model in architecture. In the year 1665, he was invited to France, to design the Louvre, and there he made an excellent bust of Henry IV. who rewarded his merit with an ample pension. He afterward undertook an equestrian statue of that monarch, which did not answer expectation, and was converted into the representation of Curtius leaping into the gulf.

diffuse through society, and the reputation which attends them. Urban incorporated the duchy of Urbino, Pesaro, and Senigaglia, with the ecclesiastical state, after the extinction of the house of Rovere, which held these principalities in fee of the holy see. The dominion of the Roman pontiffs had received a continual increase of power ever since the time of Alexander VI. Nothing now troubled the public tranquillity; for hardly any notice was taken of the little war which this Pope Urban, or rather his nephews, made upon Edward, duke of Parma, for the money which that duke owed the apostolic chamber for his duchy of Castro. This war was but short, and attended with little bloodshed, such as might be expected from these new Romans, whose manners necessarily were in conformity to the spirit of their government. Cardinal Barberino, the author of these troubles, marched at the head of his little army, fraught with indulgences. The sharpest battle was fought between four and five hundred men on each side. The fortress of Piegaia surrendered at discretion as soon as it saw the artillery approach; this artillery consisted of two culverins. Nevertheless, more negotiations were required to put an end to these trifling broils, which hardly deserve a place in history, than if the contest had concerned ancient Rome and Carthage. We mention this event only to give an insight into the genius of modern Rome,

who ended all affairs by negotiation, as ancient Rome did by conquest.

The Romans employed their leisure time in ceremonials of religion and precedencies, the arts, antiquities, public buildings, gardens, music, and assemblies, while a thirty years' war ruined Germany, while England was bathed in the blood of its king and its natives, and while France was laid waste by the succeeding civil wars; but though Rome itself was thus happy in its tranquillity, and famous by its noble monuments, the people were in the main miserable. The money which was expended in raising so many masterpieces of architecture returned to other nations, by its want of trade.

The popes were obliged to buy of foreigners all the corn wanted for the city, which they afterward retailed out to the inhabitants. This custom continues to this day. There are some states that are enriched by luxury, and others that are impoverished by it. The magnificence of some of the cardinals, and the pope's relatives, served to make the indigence of the lower people more visible, who, nevertheless, at the sight of so many beautiful edifices, seemed to glory amidst their poverty, in being inhabitants of Rome.

Those who travelled to Rome to admire its curiosities were surprised to find from Orvieto to Terracina, which is a tract of more than a hundred miles, only a desert country, destitute both of men and cattle. The *campagna di Roma* is indeed an unin-

habitable country, infected with filthy marshes and standing pools, which the ancient Romans had dried up. Rome itself is situated on a barren spot, and on the banks of a river which is not navigable. Its situation upon seven hills, is rather that of a den for wild beasts than a city. Its first wars were the ravages of a people who had nothing to subsist upon but plunder; and when the dictator Camillus had taken Veii, in Umbria, some few leagues from Rome, all the people were for quitting their barren soil and their seven mountains to transplant themselves to the more fertile and pleasant country of Veii. The environs of Rome were afterward made fertile only by the money of conquered nations, and the labor of an immense number of slaves. But this spot was covered with palaces instead of corn. At length it has resumed its former state, and is again a desert country.

The papal see possessed several rich territories elsewhere, particularly that of Bologna. Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, attributes the misery of the people in the best parts of this country to the taxes and the form of government. He pretends, with almost all other writers, that an elective prince who reigns only a few years has neither the power nor the will to form those useful establishments which require time to make them advantageous to a state. It has been found easier to raise obelisks and build palaces and temples than to make the nation trading and opulent. Rome, though the capital of the Cath-

olic world, was nevertheless more thinly peopled than Venice and Naples, far inferior to Paris and London in that respect, and did not come near to Amsterdam in opulence, or the useful arts, which produce riches. At the end of the seventeenth century it was computed that there were no more than one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants in Rome, according to the printed list of the families; and this computation was verified by the register of births. There were born on an average annually three thousand six hundred children; this number of births, multiplied by thirty-four, gives nearly the sum of the inhabitants, which here is found to amount to one hundred and twenty-two thousand four hundred. There were about eight thousand Jews settled in Rome, who were not comprised in the above lists. These Jews have always lived peaceably both at Rome and Leghorn, without ever being subjected to those cruelties which have been exercised upon them in Spain and Portugal. There was no country in Europe where religion inspired so general a mildness of disposition as in Italy.

Rome was the centre of arts and politeness till the age of Louis XIV. and this it was that determined Queen Christina of Sweden to fix her residence there: but Italy was soon equalled in more than one branch by France, and far excelled in some others; England was as much superior to her in the sciences as in commerce. Rome, however, preserved the reputation of its antiquities and fine works, for

which it had been distinguished ever since the time of Pope Julius II.

CHAPTER CLVI.

VENICE.

TUSCANY, as being an ecclesiastical state, enjoyed a state of peace and tranquillity ever since the thirteenth century. Florence, the rival of Rome, drew as great a concourse of strangers, who came to admire the masterpieces of art, both ancient and modern, with which she abounded. There were a hundred and sixty public statues. The only two with which Paris was adorned — namely, that of Henry IV. and the horse which bears the statue of Louis XIII. — were cast in Florence, and were presents made by the grand dukes.

Tuscany became so flourishing by its trade, and its sovereigns so rich, that the grand duke Cosmo II. was able to send twenty thousand men to the assistance of the duke of Mantua, against the duke of Savoy, in 1613, without laying any tax upon his subjects; an example hardly to be found in the most powerful nations.

The city of Venice possessed a still more singular advantage; this was, that since the fourteenth century its internal quiet had not been disturbed for a single moment, the city was wholly exempt from any disorder, sedition, or alarms. Those strangers who went to Rome and Florence to see the noble

monuments of the polite arts in those cities were generally fond of making a visit to Venice, to enjoy the freedom and pleasures which reign there, and where there are several excellent paintings to amuse the curious, as well as at Rome. The liberal arts were cultivated with care, and the magnificent shows attracted strangers. Rome was the city of ceremonies, Venice the city of diversions. She had made peace with the Turks after the battle of Lepanto, and her trade, though fallen off, was still very considerable in the Levant. She was in possession of Candia and several other islands, of Istria, Dalmatia, a part of Albania, and all that she now has in Italy.

In 1618, in the midst of her prosperities this republic was on the point of being ruined by a conspiracy, the like of which had not been known since her first foundation. The abbot of St. Real, who has related this memorable event in a style worthy of Sallust, has embellished his narration with some romantic incidents; but the foundation is undoubtedly true. The Venetians had had a small war with the house of Austria on the coast of Istria. The Spanish king, Philip III., who was possessed of the duchy of Milan, was always the secret enemy of this republic. The duke of Ossuna, viceroy of Naples, Don Pedro of Toledo, governor of Milan, and the marquis of Bedemar, afterward Cardinal de Cueva, Philip's ambassador at Venice, entered into a plot for totally destroying

this state. The measures were so extraordinary, and the scheme so far exceeded probability, that the senate could not possibly conceive suspicion. Venice was guarded by its situation and the lagoons with which it was surrounded. The weeds and mud which are continually thrown upon these lagoons by the sea, prevent vessels from ever entering twice by the same passage, so that it is necessary to point out a new one almost every day. The republic had a formidable fleet on the coast of Istria, where she was carrying on the war against the archduke of Austria, who was afterward the emperor Ferdinand II. It seemed impossible to get entrance into Venice, and yet the marquis of Bedemar found means to assemble a body of strangers in the city, the one drawn in by another, to the number of five hundred. These were all engaged under different pretences by the principal conspirators, who secured their services with the money furnished by the ambassador. They were to set fire to the city in several places at a time. The Milanese troops were to be brought over from the mainland, and certain mariners who had been gained for that purpose, were to pilot a number of barks full of men, which the duke of Ossuna had taken care to send in readiness within a few leagues of the city. One of the conspirators, who was a naval officer in the republic's service, and commanded a squadron of twelve sail, undertook to burn all these ships, and by this extraordinary stroke prevent the rest of the

fleet from coming in time to relieve the city. The conspirators were all foreigners of different nations, and strangers to each other. It was therefore no wonder that the plot was discovered. The procurator Mani, a famous historiographer of this republic, tells us that the senate was informed of the whole conspiracy by several persons; but does not take the least notice of the pretended remorse with which one of the conspirators, called Jassier, is said to have been seized, on hearing Renaud, their chief, harangue them for the last time, who painted the horrors of their intended enterprise in such lively colors as struck Jassier with dismay instead of encouraging him. These speeches are generally the inventions of the writers themselves, and therefore everyone who reads history should distrust them. It is neither probable nor in the nature of things that the head of a conspiracy should give his accomplices so pathetic a description of the horrors they were to encounter, or terrify the imaginations of those whom he should embolden. The senate ordered every one of the conspirators whom they could apprehend to be instantly drowned in the canals of the city. They showed some respect to Bedemar's character of ambassador, which they could not well infringe, and caused him to be privately conveyed out of the city to save him from the fury of the populace.

Venice, after escaping from this danger, continued in a flourishing condition till the taking of the island of Candia. This republic sustained a war

alone against the Turkish emperor for nearly thirty years, that is to say, from 1641 till 1669. The siege of Candia was the longest and most memorable that we find mentioned in history; it lasted almost twenty years; sometimes turned into blockade, sometimes less vigorously, and in a manner quieted; then renewed again at different times. At length it was carried on in form for two years and a half without remission, till at last this heap of ashes, together with all the rest of the island, was surrendered to the Turks, in 1669.

How slowly, and with what difficulty is human nature civilized, and society improved! The Venetians, who dwelt almost at the gates of Italy, where all the arts were held in the highest estimation, were a people almost as unpolished as those of the north at that time. Istria, Croatia, and Dalmatia were in a manner barbarous, and yet this was the very Dalmatia which under the Roman empire was so fruitful and agreeable a country; the delicious spot which Diocletian chose for his retreat, at a time when neither the city nor name of Venice existed. Such is the vicissitude of human things. The Morlacks were the most savage people upon earth. Sardinia and Corsica had not the least tincture of the manners or improved genius for which the Italians were so distinguished. It was with Italy as with ancient Greece, who in the height of her politeness and glory had savage nations inhabiting her borders.

MALTA.

The Knights of Malta maintained themselves in this island, which had been given them by the emperor Charles V., after they had been driven out of Rhodes by Sultan Solyman in 1623. At that time the grand master of the order, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, with his knights and the few Rhodians who were attached to them, were wanderers from city to city, at Messina, Gallipoli, Rome, and Viterbo. L'Isle-Adam made a journey to Madrid to implore the assistance of Charles V. From there he travelled into France and England, endeavoring to collect the scattered remains of his order, which was thought to be entirely ruined. Charles V. made these knights a present of the Island of Malta in 1525, together with Tripoli; but Tripoli was soon taken from them again by Solyman's admirals. Malta was only a barren rock. The soil seemed to have been made fruitful formerly by great labor, when the Carthaginians were in possession of this island; for the new possessors found the ruins of several columns and grand buildings of marble, with inscriptions in the Punic language. These remains of grandeur were proofs that it had once been a flourishing country. The Romans did not think it unworthy of their notice when they took it from the Carthaginians. The Moors became masters of it in the ninth century, and Roger the Norman, count of Sicily, annexed it to that island toward the end of the

twelfth century. When Villiers l'Isle-Adam removed the seat of his order to this island, the aforementioned Sultan Solyman, enraged to see his ships still exposed to the attacks of those enemies whom he thought he had rooted out, resolved to make the conquest of Malta, as he had done that of Rhodes, and, in 1565, sent an army of thirty thousand men to lay siege to this small place, which was defended only by seven hundred knights, and about eight thousand foreign soldiers. John de la Valette, then grand master, who was seventy-one years of age, sustained a siege of four months.

The Turks assaulted the town in several places at once; but were always repulsed by a machine of a new invention, formed of great wooden hoops, covered with woollen cloths, dipped in spirits of wine, oil, saltpetre, and gunpowder; these hoops were set on fire, and thrown all flaming into the midst of the assailants. At length a reinforcement of six thousand men being sent from Sicily to their assistance, the Turks were forced to raise the siege. The principal town of Malta, which had withstood the most assaults, was called the "victorious town," which name it still preserves. Grand Master de la Valette ordered a new citadel to be built, which is, after him, called La Valette, and has made Malta impregnable.

This small island has ever since bid defiance to all the Ottoman force; but the order has never been rich enough to attempt great conquests, or fit out

numerous fleets. This convent of warriors subsists chiefly upon the rents of those benefices it possesses in the Catholic states, and has not been able to do near the same hurt to the Turks that the Algerine corsairs have to the Christians.

CHAPTER CLVII.

HOLLAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Holland is deserving of our attention, as it is entirely a new kind of state, which has become powerful without possessing hardly any territories; rich, without having a revenue sufficient to maintain the twentieth part of its inhabitants, and considerable in Europe by its labors at the farther end of Asia.

You have seen this republic recognized as a free and sovereign state by its former master the king of Spain, after having purchased its liberty by a forty years' war. Labor and sobriety were the principal guardians of this liberty. It is said, that as the marquis of Spinola and President Richardot were going to The Hague, in 1608, to negotiate the first truce with the Hollanders, they saw on their way eight or ten persons come on shore out of a boat, who, sitting down on the grass, made a plentiful meal upon bread, butter, cheese, and a draught of beer, each of them carrying his own provisions with him. The Spanish ambassadors asking a countryman whom these travellers were, the countryman answered: "They are the deputies of our sovereign

lords and masters, the states." Upon which the ambassadors cried out: "These people are never to be conquered; we must make peace with them." This is nearly the same thing that is said to have happened between the king of Persia's ambassadors and those of the Lacedæmonians. The same manners might have produced a repetition of the same adventure. At that time the individuals of these provinces were poor, and the state rich; whereas, of late times, the inhabitants are wealthy, and the state poor. The reason is, that then the first fruits of commerce were set apart for the defence of the community.

The Dutch were not then in possession either of the Cape of Good Hope, which they took from the Portuguese in 1653, of Cochin and its dependencies, nor of Molucca. They had no direct trade to China, and that of Japan, of which they are now the masters, was prohibited them till the year 1609, by the Portuguese, or rather by the Spaniards, who were still masters of Portugal. But they had already made the conquest of the Molucca Islands, and had begun to form settlements in Java; and their East India Company had more than doubled its capital from 1602 till 1609. The Siamese had already, in 1608, paid the same honors to these trading people, through their ambassadors, as they did afterward to Louis XIV. Ambassadors also arrived to The Hague from Japan, in 1609, to settle a treaty of commerce. The emperor of Fez and Morocco sent

to desire of them a supply of men and ships. In the space of forty years they made a surprising addition to their reputation by commerce and war.

The mildness of this government, and the toleration of all kinds of worship, which might be dangerous, perhaps, but was nevertheless necessary, peopled Holland with a crowd of foreigners, especially Walloons, who were persecuted by the Inquisition in their own country, and who from slaves at home, became free citizens in this nation.

The Calvinistic religion, which was the reigning one in Holland, was another means of increasing its power. This country, at that time so poor, could have furnished wherewithal neither to support the magnificence of prelates nor to maintain religious orders; and a land which wanted men to defend it could ill afford to harbor those who engage themselves by oath to suffer as far as in them lies all the human species to perish. They had the example of England before them, which had become a third part more populous since the clergy had been permitted to enjoy the comforts of matrimony; and that the hopes of whole families were no longer buried within the barren confines of a cloister.

Amsterdam, notwithstanding the inconveniences of its harbor, became the magazine of the world. All Holland was embellished and enriched by immense works. The waters of the ocean were confined by double dikes. Vast canals were cut through all the towns in beds of stone, and the

streets formed large quays, ornamented with rows of tall trees. The boats unloaded their merchandise at the doors of the inhabitants; and strangers are never weary of admiring the singular medley formed by the roofs of houses, the branches of trees, and the streamers of shipping, which at one time, and in the same place, present a view of the sea, the town, and the country.

But, so strangely is evil blended with good, and so apt are men to wander wide of their first principles, that this republic was on the point of destroying with her own hands that liberty for which she had so long and bravely fought; and persecution carried bloodshed among a people, whose happiness and laws were founded on toleration. Two Calvinistic teachers did that which so many other teachers have done. Gomar and Arminius disputed in Leyden with the utmost fury on points which neither of them understood, and by their disagreement sowed dissension among the United Provinces. This dispute resembled in several points that between the Thomists and Scotists, the Jansenists and Molinists, about predestination, grace, free-will, and other dark and idle questions, where the parties themselves can hardly define the things about which they dispute. The leisure and inaction which followed the conclusion of the truce gave the ignorant people an unhappy opportunity of filling their heads with these disputes; and, at length, from a scholastic controversy, two parties were formed in the state.

Maurice, prince of Orange, was at the head of the Gomarians; and the pensionary, Barneveldt, sided with the Arminians. Du Maurier says, that he was told by his father, the ambassador, that Maurice, having solicited the pensionary for his concurrence in conferring an absolute authority on the stadtholder, that zealous republican answered him only by setting forth the danger and injustice of such a project, and that from that instant Barneveldt's ruin was resolved upon. It is an acknowledged truth that the stadtholder aims to enlarge his own authority by means of the Gomarians, and that Barneveldt on the other side endeavored to curb it by the Arminians; that several cities raised soldiers, who were called attendants, because they waited for their orders from the magistracy, and would not take them from the stadtholder; that there were several seditions attended with bloodshed in many of the towns; and lastly, that Prince Maurice set no bounds to his persecution of those who resisted his authority.

At length, in 1618, he ordered a Calvinistic council to be assembled at Dordrecht, composed of deputies from all the reformed churches in Europe, excepting that of France, whose sovereign would not permit it to send deputies. The fathers of this synod, who had exclaimed so vehemently against the rigor of the fathers of several other councils, and even disputed their authority, condemned the Arians in the same manner as they themselves had

been condemned by the Council of Trent. Upward of a hundred Arian ministers were banished from the republic's territories. Prince Maurice chose twenty-six commissioners from the body of the nobility and magistracy to try the grand pensionary, Barnevelt, the famous Grotius, and others of their party. They were kept six months in prison, before they were brought to trial.

One of the principal motives of the first revolt of the seven provinces and the princes of Orange against Spain was that the duke of Alva had suffered several persons to languish in confinement without bringing them to trial, and afterward caused them to be condemned by commissioners. The same oppression which had been complained of under the Spanish monarchy was now revived in the very bosom of liberty. Barneveldt was beheaded [1] at The Hague

[1] John Olden Barneveldt, advocate-general and pensioner of the states of Holland, was a venerable patriot, who had rendered the most important services to his country; and in particular effected the truce for twelve years, between the archduke and the states-general, commencing in 1609. This was the real source of that resentment afterward manifested against him by Maurice, prince of Orange, who sought the gratification of his ambition in his endeavors to protract the war, when the people of Holland were divided by the dispute upon predestination, which had arisen between Arminius and Gomar, two Protestant ministers belonging to the republic. Barneveldt declared for the disciples of the former, chiefly because all they asked was toleration; whereas the Gomarians would not grant them that indulgence. The prince of Orange was at the head of these last, who carried their point in the synod of Dordrecht, where

in 1619, and suffered more unjustly than even the counts of Egmont and Hoorn, at Brussels. He was a venerable old man of seventy, who had served his country for over fifty years in the cabinet, with as much success as Maurice and his brothers had done in the field. He was sentenced for "having done his utmost to aggrieve God's church." Grotius,[1] who was afterward ambassador from Sweden to France, and still more illustrious by his writings than his embassy, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, from which his wife, by great resolution and good fortune, delivered him. This act of oppression gave birth to conspiracies, which

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the Arminians were condemned. Barneveldt was beheaded at the age of seventy-two, on pretence of having harbored a design of betraying his country to the Spaniards; a design which he constantly denied with his last breath; a design of which no proof was adduced; a design diametrically opposite to the whole tenor of his former conduct. His death was publicly regretted by the princess of Orange, who did not scruple to declare that Prince Maurice and the whole family of Nassau should have honored Barneveldt as their father, on account of the great services he had done their house.

[1] This was the celebrated Hugo Grotius, advocate-general of Holland, syndic of Rotterdam, and the fast friend of Barneveldt. Being confined in the castle of Louvenstein, his wife obtained permission to supply him with some clothes, which she conveyed to him in a great chest. In this he was enclosed and carried out of the castle without suspicion. He retired to France, where he received a pension from Louis XIII., and afterward engaged in the service of Christina, queen of Sweden. He left a great many works both in verse and prose.

brought on fresh punishments. One of Barneveldt's sons resolved to avenge his father's death upon Maurice. The plot was discovered, and his accomplices, the principal of whom was an Arminian minister, were all put to death, in 1623, by the hands of the public executioner. Barneveldt's son had the good fortune to escape while they were busied in apprehending the rest of the conspirators; but his younger brother lost his head only for having been privy to the conspiracy. De Thou suffered death in France for the very same cause. The condemnation of young Barneveldt was much more cruel; it was indeed the height of injustice to put him to death, because he would not turn informer against his own brother. Had these times of cruelties and horror lasted, the free Hollanders would have been much more miserable than their enslaved ancestors, under the duke of Alva.

Amsterdam, though full of Gomarians, always favored the Arminians, and adopted the plan of toleration. The ambition and cruelty of Prince Maurice left a deep wound in the hearts of the Dutch; and the remembrance of Barneveldt's death did not a little contribute toward their excluding from the stadtholdership the young prince of Orange, William III., who was afterward king of England. He was only an infant in his cradle when the grand pensionary, De Witt, stipulated, in the treaty of peace which the states-general made with Cromwell in 1653, that there should be no stadt-

holder for the future in Holland. Cromwell still continued to persecute Charles I. in this his infant grandson, and the grand pensionary, De Witt, avenged the blood of a pensionary. This proceeding of De Witt's proved in the end the cause of his own fatal end, and that of his brother: but these were almost the only bloody catastrophes occasioned in Holland by the struggle between liberty and ambition.

Notwithstanding these disturbances at home, the East India Company built Batavia, in 1618, in spite of the opposition they met with from the kings of the country, and the English, who came to attack their new settlement. Holland, which is itself a marshy and barren country in many parts, formed a new kingdom within five degrees of the line, and in the most fertile spot in the globe, where the fields are covered with rice, pepper, cinnamon, and vines, that bear twice a year. It has since made itself master of Bantam, in the same island, after driving the English out. This company alone has eight great governments in the East Indies, including the Cape of Good Hope — though it is properly the farthest point of Africa — an important place which they took from the Portuguese in 1653.

While the Dutch were thus forming settlements at the extremities of the East, they began to extend their conquests westward in America, after the expiration of the twelve years truce they had made with Spain. The West India Company possessed

itself of almost all the Brazils between 1623 and 1636. It is amazing to see, in the registers of this company, that in so short a space of time it fitted out eight hundred sail of ships, partly men-of-war and partly merchantmen, and took five hundred and forty-five vessels from the Spaniards. This company was at that time much superior to the East India one; but afterward, when Portugal had thrown off the Spanish yoke, that nation defended its possessions better than the Dutch, and recovered the Brazils from them, where it found a new source of riches.

The most profitable of all the Dutch expeditions was that of Admiral Peter Hein, who, in 1628, took the whole fleet of Spanish galleons, returning home from Havana, and by that one cruise brought back over twenty millions to his country. The treasures of the new world, which had been conquered by the Spaniards, served to strengthen the hands of their old subjects against them, who were now their most formidable enemies. The republic carried on this war during eighty years — if we except the twelve years truce — in the Netherlands, in the East Indies, and in the new world, and was sufficiently powerful to secure an advantageous peace to herself at Münster in 1647, independent of France, her ally and old protector, without whom she had promised to make no treaty. Soon afterward, in 1652, and the following year, she ventured to break with the English; she had as powerful a fleet, and her admiral,

Tromp, disputed the sovereignty of the sea with the famous Admiral Blake, till he was slain in an engagement. She afterward sent aid to the king of Denmark, when besieged in his capital of Copenhagen by Charles XII. of Sweden. Her fleet, commanded by Admiral Opdam, beat the Swedish fleet, and delivered Copenhagen. She declared war against the English, to whom she was always a rival in trade, in the reign of Charles II., as she had formerly done with Cromwell, though with far greater success. In 1668, she became the arbiter of crowned heads, and obliged Louis XIV. to make peace with Spain. This republic, which had been hitherto so closely connected with France, from that time till the end of the seventeenth century supported Spain against France. She has a long time been one of the principal parties in the affairs of Europe. She has fallen and risen again; and at last, though considerably weakened, she subsists wholly by her trade, which was her first foundation, without having made any conquests in Europe, excepting that of Maestricht, a very small and bad country, which only serves as a defence to her frontiers: she has not enlarged her dominions since the Peace of Münster, in which respect she more nearly resembles the ancient republic of Tyre, whose power lay solely in its trade, than that of Carthage, which had such numerous possessions in America; or Venice, which had too great an extent of territories on the mainland.

CHAPTER CLVIII.

DENMARK, SWEDEN, AND POLAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

You have not seen Denmark entering into the system of Europe in the sixteenth century. Nothing memorable had happened to draw the eyes of other nations on it, since the deposition of the tyrant, Christian II. This kingdom, which is composed of Denmark and Norway, was a long time governed nearly in the same manner as Poland; it was an aristocracy, of which an elective king was president. This was the ancient form of government in almost all Europe. But in 1660[1] the assembly of

[1] It is surprising that our author should dwell so little on an event which stands single in the records of history. At the end of a war which had desolated the country, the estates were assembled to deliberate upon the present condition of the kingdom, and contrive means for raising money to pay the army and repair the fleet. The noblesse proposed a tax upon the consumption of different species, under such provisos and restrictions that they themselves must have been, in a great measure, exempted from the burden, which would have fallen chiefly upon the inhabitants of cities and towns. The clergy, as the third estate, exasperated at this scheme, proposed in their turn, that the fiefs of the crown, which the noblesse enjoyed upon very easy terms, should be farmed to the best bidders. A violent dispute ensued, and the two parties were greatly irritated against each other. Swan, bishop of Seelund, and Nansen, burgomaster of Copenhagen, were the persons who prevailed upon the clergy and the third estate, to issue a declaration that the crown should be rendered hereditary

the estates conferred the hereditary right of succession, and absolute sovereign power, on King Frederick III. Denmark then became the only kingdom in the world where the people had established arbitrary power by their own solemn act. Norway, though a country six hundred leagues in length, made no addition of power to the state; a territory of barren rocks could not be much peopled. The islands which compose Denmark are more fertile; but they had not then drawn the same advantages from them as they have since. It was little imagined at that time that the Danes would have an East India Company, and a settlement at Zanzi-

in the present royal family. This they transmitted to the noblesse for their concurrence. The nobles wanted to treat with the king, that he should be satisfied with the succession established in the male line of his family; a proposal which he rejected. The other two orders, finding the noblesse averse to their design, waited in a body on the king with this deed, which rendered the crown hereditary in his house: he thanked them for their good will, but declared he could not accept the offer without the concurrence of the nobility, who now endeavored to break up the diet and retire from the city. The gates were immediately shut, and in two days they complied. The capitulation that limited the royal authority was restored to the king, and all the three orders took the oath of allegiance anew. These transactions happened in October; and on January 10, each order, separately, delivered to the king an authentic act, by which they rendered the crown hereditary to his heirs whatsoever, either male or female; conferred upon him absolute power, not only in governing the state, but also in regulating the succession and regency. These three instruments, signed and sealed by all the members of the diet, are preserved in the archives of the kingdom.

bar; or that their king would be able to maintain a fleet of thirty men-of-war and an army of five thousand men. Governments, like men, are long in forming. The spirit of trade, industry, and economy is communicating from one to another. I shall not here speak of the wars in which Denmark was so frequently engaged with its neighbors, the Swedes; they have left few memorable traces behind them; and you will be better pleased to remark the manners and form of governments, than to enter into a detail of murders, which have produced no events worthy the attention of posterity.

The kings of Sweden were no more despotic than those of Denmark in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The four estates, composed of one thousand gentlemen, one hundred clergy, one hundred and fifty burghers, and about two hundred and fifty peasants, made all the laws of the kingdom. They were not acquainted here, any more than in Denmark, or the rest of the northern kingdoms, with the titles of marquis, count, and baron, so common in the other European nations. King Eric, son of Gustavus Vasa, was the first to introduce them into Sweden, in 1561. This Eric, however, was far from being an absolute monarch; and he left the world an example of the misfortunes which may attend the desire of being despotic, without the power of being so. The son of the deliverer of Sweden was accused of various crimes before the assembly of the estates, and unanimously deposed,

as Christian II. had been in Denmark. He was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, and his crown given to his brother John, in 1569.

As our principal design in this multitude of events is to direct your attention to those which depend on the manners and spirits of the times, it will be necessary to understand that King John, who was a Catholic, fearing that the partisans of the late king should rescue him from his confinement, and replace him on the throne, openly sent him poison, in the same manner as the sultan sends the bow-string, and ordered him to be solemnly interred with his face uncovered, that no person might be ignorant of his death, and that no one should afterward make use of his name to set up a new title to the throne.

The Jesuit, Possevinus, who was sent by Pope Gregory XIII. into Sweden and all the North, in quality of nuncio, in 1580, inflicted as a penance on King John for this murder, to eat only one meal on Wednesdays; a penance which was turned into ridicule, but serves to show that some expiation was necessary. King Eric had been punished much more rigorously for his crimes.

Neither King John nor the nuncio, Possevinus, could succeed in establishing the Catholic religion in Sweden. John, who was not pleased with Lutheranism, endeavored to introduce the Greek communion, but with no better success. This prince had some tincture of learning, and was almost the

only person in his kingdom who meddled with controversy. There was a university at Upsala; but it was reduced to two or three professors, without any students. The nation was unacquainted with anything but arms; and yet it had made little or no progress in the military art. They had not begun to use artillery till the time of Gustavus Vasa; the other arts were so wholly unknown among them that when King John fell ill in 1592, he died before they could find a physician; contrary to all other kings, who are frequently surrounded with too many. There was not then either a physician or surgeon in all Sweden; only a few grocers who sold medicinal drugs, which they administered at hazard. This was the custom through almost all the North. Mankind were so far from being exposed in that country to an abuse of the arts, that they did not even know how to procure themselves the necessary ones.

Nevertheless, Sweden might at that time have become very powerful. Sigismund, son of this King John, had been elected king of Poland, eight years before the death of his father. In 1600, the Swedes got possession of Finland and Esthonia. Sigismund, now king of Sweden and Poland, might have conquered all Muscovy, which was at that time in no posture of defence; but Sigismund was a Catholic, and his Swedish subjects Lutherans, so that he made no conquests; and at length lost the crown of Sweden. The same estates who had

deposed his uncle Eric, deposed him also, in 1604; and declared another of his uncles king in his stead: this was Charles IX., father of the great Gustavus Adolphus. All these events did not happen without commotions, wars, and conspiracies, which ever attend such changes. Charles IX. was regarded as a usurper by the princes who were allies to Sigismund; but the Swedes considered him as their lawful sovereign.

Gustavus Adolphus, his son, succeeded him in 1611, without any obstacle, when he was not fully eighteen years of age, which is the time limited for the majority of the kings of Sweden and Denmark, as well as that of the princes of the empire. The Swedes were not then in possession of Scania, one of the finest of their provinces, it having been ceded to the Danes ever since the fourteenth century; so that the kingdom of Sweden was almost always the theatre of all the wars between the Swedes and Danes. The first thing which Gustavus Adolphus did was to make an incursion into Scania, but he could never recover it. His first wars proved very unsuccessful, and he was obliged to make peace with Denmark. But so great was his inclination to war, that, in 1613, he marched to attack the Muscovites beyond Narva, as soon as he was free from the Danes. He afterward fell upon Livonia, which belonged to the Poles, and attacking his cousin Sigismund everywhere, he penetrated into Livonia. The emperor, Ferdinand II., who was Sigismund's

ally, and feared the rising power of young Gustavus, sent a body of troops against him. By this we may judge that the French ministry had no great difficulty in persuading Gustavus to invade Germany. This warrior king made a truce with Sigismund and the Poles, during which he kept his conquests. You know how he shook the throne of Ferdinand II., and how he died in the flower of his age, and in the midst of his victories.

His daughter, Christina, no less famous than himself, after a reign as glorious as that of her father, after having fought battles and presided in the Treaty of Westphalia, which restored peace to Germany, to the amazement of all Europe, abdicated her crown at the age of twenty-seven. Puffendorf says that she was obliged to resign the government; but at the same time he owns that when that princess communicated her resolution for the first time to the senate, in 1651, the senators, with tears in their eyes, entreated her not to leave the kingdom: that nevertheless, she persisted in her contempt of the throne, and having assembled the estates, she quitted Sweden on May 21, 1654, deaf to the prayers and entreaties of her subjects. She had never appeared incapable of supporting the weight of a crown, but she was fond of the polite arts. Had she been a queen in Italy, she would never have abdicated. This is the greatest example we have of the real superiority of the arts, of politeness, and of social perfection over mere nominal greatness.

Her cousin, Charles X., duke of Deux-Ponts, was chosen her successor by the estates. This prince was wholly devoted to war. He marched into Poland, and conquered it with the same rapidity as we have since seen his grandson, Charles XII., subdue it; and he lost it in the same manner. The Danes, who were then the defenders of Poland, as being constant enemies to the Swedes, fell upon Sweden; but Charles X., though driven out of Poland, marched over the sea upon the ice, from island to island, and appeared before Copenhagen. This prodigious undertaking brought about a peace; by which Scania was restored to Sweden, after having been kept from it for over three centuries.

His son, Charles XI., was the first absolute king of Sweden, and his grandson, Charles XII., was the last. I shall here observe only one thing, which shows how much the spirit of government has changed in the North, and how long a time it required to bring about this change. It was not till after the death of Charles XII. that the Swedes, who had hitherto been wholly devoted to arms, addicted themselves to agriculture and commerce, so far as an ungrateful soil and the mediocrity of their riches would permit them. They have had an East India Company; and their steel, which they formerly used only for fighting, has since been transported in their ships from the port of Gottenburg to the southern provinces of Mogulstan and China.

Poland was the only country in the world which, joining the name of republic with that of monarchy, always chose a foreigner for her king,[1] as the Venetians do for the general of their army. It is likewise the only kingdom which has not been actuated by the spirit of conquest, being wholly occupied in defending its frontiers against the incursions of the Turks and Muscovites.

The Catholic and Protestant factions, which had

[1] Our author surely cannot mean that Poland was always governed by a foreign prince, inasmuch as King Stanislaus, John Sobieski, Michael Koribat, Wiuesnowiski, John Casimir, and many other princes who reigned in that kingdom, were natives of Poland. The crown is indeed elective, and the king at his election is obliged to promise upon oath that he will inviolably observe the *pacta conventa*, or capitulation tendered to him by order of the senate and nobility. The principal articles of this agreement are these: "That the king shall not appoint his successor; that he shall leave to the republic the right of coining money; that he shall not declare war against any prince or state whatsoever, without the consent of the republic; that he shall admit no foreigners into his council, nor confer upon them any office, dignity, or government; that he shall not marry but according to the ancient laws, with the consent of the senate; that for the maintenance of his table, he shall have no royal demesnes but such as the republic granted to the kings, his predecessors; that with the advice of his council, he shall regulate the forces of the republic in such a manner, that it shall never have occasion for foreign auxiliaries; that he shall not in any shape diminish, but on the contrary augment, the treasure at Cracovia; that he shall borrow no money but with the consent of the republic; that should the necessities of the state ever require a naval force, he shall not have power to raise it but with the consent to the nobility and by the advice of the senate."

disturbed so many states, at length made their way into this nation. The Protestants were in so much credit as to procure an edict, granting them liberty of conscience, in 1587; and their party was so strong that the pope's nuncio, Annibal of Capua, employed them only to endeavor to place the crown of Poland on the head of the archduke Maximilian, brother of the emperor Rudolph II. Accordingly, the Protestant faction actually elected the archduke, while the opposite faction chose the Swedish prince, Sigismund, grandson of Gustavus Vasa, of whom we have already spoken. Sigismund should have been king of Sweden, had the rights of succession taken place; but you have already seen that the throne of Sweden was at the disposal of the estates. And he was so far from reigning there, that his nephew, Gustavus Adolphus, was on the point of driving him from the throne of Poland, and laid aside his design only to march into Germany, in order to dethrone the emperor.

It is an astonishing thing that the Swedes should have so often overrun Poland as conquerors, and that the Turks, who are so much more powerful, should never have penetrated far beyond the borders of that kingdom. Sultan Osman attacked the Poles with an army of two hundred thousand men in Sigismund's time, on the side of Moldavia. The Cossacks, who were the only people then connected with the republic, and who were under its protection, by the obstinate resistance they made, rendered

the Turkish invasion fruitless. What must we conclude from the ill-success of so powerful an armament, except that the sultan's generals did not know how to make war?

Sigismund died in the same year as Gustavus Adolphus — 1632. His son, Ladislaus, who succeeded him, saw the beginning of the fatal defection of these Cossacks, who had been so long the bulwarks of the republic, and now gave their service either to the Turks or the Russians. These people, whom we must distinguish from the Cossacks of the Don, inhabit the borders of the Dnieper. Their lives are, in every respect, like those of the ancient Scythians, and of the Tartars, who border on the Black Sea. All this part of the world, to the north-east of Europe, was then in a savage state. It was the exact image of the pretended heroic ages, when mankind were contented with the necessaries of life, and pillaged these necessaries from their neighbors. The Polish nobles in the palatinates, which bordered upon the Ukraine, wanted to treat the Cossacks as their vassals, that is to say, their bondmen: upon which the whole nation, who had no other possessions but their liberty, revolted to a man; and for a long time committed horrid depredations on the territories of Poland. These Cossacks were of the Greek Church; another strong reason to make them irreconcilable enemies to the Poles. Part of them acknowledged the Russians for their masters and part the Turks, on condition of still enjoying their

liberty, or rather anarchy. They still preserve the little religion they had among them, which was that of the Greek Church, but are now almost wholly deprived of their liberty by the Russian Empire; which, since it has of late years been civilized itself, has attempted to civilize them also.

King Ladislaus died without leaving any issue by his wife, Maria Louisa de Gonzaga, who was in love with Cinq-Mars, master of the horse to Louis XIII. of France. Ladislaus had two brothers, both in holy orders; the one, called John Casimir, was a Jesuit and a cardinal; the other, bishop of Breslau and Kieff. The cardinal and the bishop disputed the throne with each other Casimir was at length elected in 1648, and he sent back the cardinal's hat to the pope, and took the crown in its stead. But after having been a spectator for over twenty years of the desolation of his kingdom, by factions at home and by the incursions of Charles X., king of Sweden, and those of the Muscovites and Cossacks, he, following the example of Queen Christina, abdicated in 1687, but with far less glory, and retired to Paris, where he died abbot of St.-Germain-des-Prés.

Poland was not more happy under his successor, Michael Coribut. All that she lost at different times would form an immense kingdom. The Swedes had taken Livonia, which the Russians still continue in possession of, together with the duchy of Courland. The Russians themselves, after

having stripped it of the provinces of Pleskoff and Smolensk, made themselves masters of almost all Kieff and the Ukraine. The Turks took Podolia and Volhynia in the reign of this Michael. In fine, Poland could not support itself but by becoming tributary to the Ottoman Porte. The grand marshal of the crown, John Sobieski, washed out this stain, indeed, in the blood of the Turks, at the battle of Chokzim;[1] this famous battle delivered Poland from

[1] This battle, which was fought November 11, 1673, at Chokzim on the Dniester, by the frontier of Moldavia, continued three days successively. The Turks are said to have lost eight thousand janissaries, and more than double that number of spahis. They were afterward worsted in several engagements by Sobieski, and obliged to sue for peace, which was concluded at Zurowna. In 1674 he was elevated to the throne of Poland, notwithstanding the opposition of the emperor, Leopold, who endeavored to procure the crown for Prince Charles of Lorraine. In 1683, the grand vizier, Kara Mustapha, entered Hungary at the head of two hundred and forty thousand men, defeated the prince of Lorraine at the passage of the Raab, and undertook the siege of Vienna. Sobieski, understanding that the city was reduced to extremity, generously forgot the ill offices he had sustained at the hands of the emperor, and marched with a considerable army to his assistance. Being joined by the imperial army, under the duke of Lorraine, and by the electors of Bavaria and Saxony, at the head of their respective troops, he gave battle to the Turks, and routed them with great slaughter. Vienna being relieved, he pursued the enemy to Barkau, where, though at first he met with a check, owing to the impetuosity of his courage, he next day renewed the attack with such vigor that the Turks were entirely defeated. In consequence of this victory, he relieved Barkau, Gran, and Strigonia.

its tribute, and placed the crown on Sobieski's head. But certainly this victory was neither so fatal to the Turks, nor so decisive as was said, seeing that they still continued to keep possession of Podolia and a part of the Ukraine, with the important fortress of Kaminiek, which they had taken. It is true that when Sobieski came to be king, he rendered his name immortal by the delivery of Vienna, but he could never recover Kaminiek; and the Turks kept it till after his death, when they restored it at the Peace of Carlowitz, in 1699.

Poland, amidst all its commotions, never suffered a change in its manners, its government, or its laws; nor became either richer or poorer: but for want of a perfect military discipline, which the Czar Peter had, through the assistance of foreigners, found means to introduce among his subjects, and which proved so infinitely advantageous to his kingdom, it has happened that the Russians, who were so long held in contempt by the Poles, have obliged them to receive a king of their nomination; and that ten thousand Russians have imposed laws on the assembly of the Polish nobility.

As to religion, it occasioned very little disturbance in this part of the world. The Unitarians had for some time churches in Poland and Lithuania, at the beginning of the seventeenth century. These Unitarians, who were sometimes called Socinians, sometimes Arians, pretended to defend the cause of the Deity Himself, by considering Him as one sole

incommunicable being, who had no son but by adoption. This was not entirely the doctrine of the ancient Eusebians. They pretended to restore upon earth the purity of the primitive ages of Christianity, renouncing all civil offices, and the profession of arms. Subjects, who made a scruple of conscience of fighting, did not seem very well adapted for a country that was incessantly in arms against the Turks. Nevertheless, this religion continued to flourish in Poland till 1658,[1] when it was prohibited, because it was found that these sectaries, who had renounced arms, had not renounced intrigues. They had entered into a league with Ragotski, prince of Transylvania, at that time an enemy to the republic. However, they still continue in great numbers in Poland, though they are not allowed to make an open profession of their opinion.

Maimbourg pretends that they fled over to Holland, "where," says he, "every religion is tolerated but that of the Church of Rome." The orator is

[1] Faustus Socinus resided in this nation, and his disciples became very numerous; but they were restrained by an edict, in the reign of John Casimir; and John Sobieski expelled them from the kingdom for having published a book entitled "*Tormentum Trinitatem Throno Deturbans.*" Socinus denied the pre-existence of the world, and considered Jesus Christ as no other than a mere man. He maintained that the Holy Ghost was not a distinct person, and that the Father alone was truly and properly God. He rejected the doctrines of redemption, of original sin, grace, and predestination; and affirmed that the sacraments were simple ceremonies without efficacy.

greatly mistaken in this article, as he is in many others. The Roman Catholics are so far tolerated in the United Provinces, that they make almost two-thirds of the nation; whereas the Unitarians or Socinians never had any public place of divine worship there. This religion has spread itself privately in Holland, Transylvania, Silesia, Poland, and England; more especially in the latter. It may be reckoned among the many revolutions of the human mind, that this religion, which reigned in the Church for three centuries and a half after Constantine, should be revived again in Europe within these two centuries, and spread itself over so many provinces, and yet not have a single temple in any one part of the world. It seems as if Christians were afraid to admit into their communion a sect which formerly triumphed for so long a time over all other communions.

CHAPTER CLIX.

RUSSIA IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

We did not at this time give the name of Russia to Muscovy, and we had but a vague idea of this country; the city of Moscow being better known in Europe than the rest of this vast empire, it was then called Muscovy. Its sovereign takes the title of emperor of all the Russias, because there are several provinces of this same name, which either

belong to him, or to which he has some pretensions; viz., White Russia, in which is the capital of Moscow, and which is the old territory of the Roxelans; Black Russia, a part of which, toward Lithuania, belongs to the Poles; and Red Russia, which is to the westward of the Boristhenes.

The form of government in Muscovy, or Russia, in the sixteenth century, was nearly the same as that of Poland. The boyards, like the Polish nobles, reckoned their riches by the number of inhabitants on their lands. The husbandmen were all their slaves. The czars were frequently chosen by the boyards; but the czar likewise as frequently nominated his own successor, which the kings of Poland never did. The use of artillery was very little known in this part of the world in the sixteenth century, and they were entire strangers to military discipline: every boyard brought his peasants with him to the place of rendezvous for the troops, and armed them with arrows, sabres, wooden poles tipped with steel, in the form of pikes, and a few muskets. They had no field operations, no magazines, no hospitals; their only method of making war was by incursions, and when there was nothing more to plunder, the Russian boyard, the Polish starost, and the Tartarian mirza called off his troops.

Manuring the ground, tending the flocks, and fighting was the whole of a Russian's life till the time of Peter the Great, and the life of three-fourths of the inhabitants of the earth.

The Russians, about the middle of the sixteenth century, made an easy conquest of the kingdoms of Kazan and Astrakhan from the weakened Tartars, who were still more undisciplined than themselves: but before Peter the Great they could not make head against the Swedes on the side of Finland, as regular troops could not fail of having the advantage over them. From the time of John Basilowitz, or Basilides, who conquered Astrakhan and Kazan, a part of Livonia, Pleskoff, and Novgorod, till Czar Peter, there happened nothing considerable.

There was a remarkable resemblance between this Basilides and Czar Peter. Both of them put their own sons to death. John Basilides suspecting his son of a conspiracy against him, during the siege of Pleskoff, killed him with his spear; and Peter, who had condemned his son to die, would not suffer him to survive his sentence, though he seemed to forgive him.

There are few events in history of a more extraordinary nature than that of the false Demetrius, who disturbed Russia for so long a time after the death of John Basilides. This czar left two sons, named Feodor or Theodore, the other Demetri or Demetrius. Feodor succeeded to the crown; Demetrius was confined in a village named Uglis, together with the czarina, his mother. The rude manners of that court had not, as yet, adopted the policy of the sultan and ancient Greek emperors, to

sacrifice the princes of the blood to the safety of the throne. The prime minister, named Boris-Godenoff, whose sister Feodor had married, persuaded that prince that he could not establish his authority but by imitating the Turks and assassinating his brother. Boris accordingly sent an officer to the village, where young Demetrius was brought up, with orders to kill him. The officer, on his return, said that he had executed his commission, and claimed the promised reward: Boris, instead of recompensing the murderer, ordered him to be slain himself, in order to suppress all proofs of the crime. It is said that some time afterward this same prime minister poisoned Czar Feodor; but though he was suspected of this crime, he nevertheless succeeded to the crown of the prince whom he had murdered.

At this time there appeared in Lithuania a young man, who pretended to be Demetrius, who had escaped from the murderer sent to assassinate him. Several persons who had seen him with his mother pretended to know him again by certain marks. He resembled perfectly the prince in features and person, and showed a cross enriched with precious stones, which had been tied about the neck of Prince Demetrius when he was christened. The palatine of Sandomir acknowledged him immediately as the son of John Basilides, and the true czar. A diet of Poland examined solemnly the proofs of his birth; and having found them incontestable, fur-

nished him with an army to drive out the usurper Boris, and recover the crown of his ancestors.

In Russia, however, Demetrius was looked upon as an impostor, and even a magician. The Russians could never think that a Demetrius, introduced by Polish Roman Catholics, and having two Jesuits for his counsellors, could be their true king. The boyards were so persuaded of his being an impostor that, the czar Boris dying, they, without hesitation, placed his son Boris, a youth of fifteen years of age, on the throne.

In the meantime Demetrius continued advancing into Russia with the Polish army. Those who were displeased with the Muscovite government declared in his favor. One of the generals of the Russian troops, as soon as he came in presence of Demetrius's army, cried out that he was the lawful heir to the empire, and instantly went over to him with the corps he commanded. The revolution soon became complete. Demetrius was no longer a magician. The people of Moscow ran to seize upon young Boris and his mother, and dragged them to prison. Demetrius was proclaimed czar in 1605, without any contradiction. It was proclaimed that young Boris and his mother were murdered in prison. It is most probable that Demetrius caused them to be put to death.

The widow of John Basilides, mother of the true or false Demetrius, had been for a long time banished into the north of Russia; the new czar sent

to fetch her to court, in a kind of chariot, as magnificent as could be had at that time. He went several miles to meet her on the way, and both of them knew each other again, embracing with a flood of tears in the presence of all the people, who no longer doubted that Demetrius was the true emperor. He married the daughter of the palatine of Sandomir, his first protector, and this proved his ruin. The people could not bear to behold, without horror, a Catholic empress, a court filled with strangers, and a church built expressly for the Jesuits. Demetrius was no longer esteemed a Russian.

In the midst of the diversions given on account of the czar's marriage, a boyard named Zuski got together a number of conspirators, put himself at their head, and entered the palace with a drawn sabre in one hand and a cross in the other. The Polish guard were all cut in pieces: Demetrius himself was loaded with chains. The conspirators confronted him with the czarina, Basilides' widow, who had so solemnly acknowledged him as her son. The clergy obliged her to take an oath upon the cross and to declare whether Demetrius was really her son or not. Then, whether the fear of death forced the princess to take a false oath and overcame nature, or whether she actually paid the homage due to truth, she declared, with a flood of tears, that the czar was not her son; that the true Demetrius had been really murdered while a child;

and that she had followed the example of the rest of the nation, in acknowledging the new czar, in order to avenge the death of her son on the family of his murderers. It was then said that Demetrius was one of the common people; that his true name was Griska Utropoya, and that he had been some time a monk in a convent in Russia. He had been reproached before with not being of the Greek Church, and now he was reproached with being at once a Russian peasant and a Greek monk. However that was, the chief of the conspirators, Zuski, killed him with his own hand, and ascended the throne in his stead.

The new czar, who had thus suddenly seized on the crown, sent back to their own country the few Poles who had survived the slaughter. As he had no other right to the throne, nor any other merit but that of having assassinated Demetrius, the other boyards, who, from his equals, were now his subjects, soon spread a report abroad that the murdered czar was not an impostor, but the true Demetrius; and that his murderer was unworthy of the crown. The name of Demetrius was dear to the Russians. The chancellor of him who had been murdered took it into his head to declare that he was not dead, but that he would soon recover from his wounds, and appear at the head of his faithful subjects.

This chancellor travelled all over Muscovy, carrying with him in a litter a young man, whom he

called Demetrius, and treated as his sovereign. At this name there was a general insurrection of the people; battles were fought in the name of this Demetrius, whom nobody saw; but the chancellor's party being defeated, this second Demetrius soon disappeared. All imaginations were so impressed with this name that a third Demetrius presented himself in Poland, who proved more fortunate than his predecessors had been. He was supported by Sigismund, king of Poland, and came and besieged the tyrant Zuski in his very capital of Moscow. Zuski had still in his hands the widow of the first Demetrius, and the palatine of Sandomir, her father. The third Demetrius claimed her as his wife, and Zuski, who saw himself closely shut up within the city, restored the daughter and the father, hoping, perhaps, to soften the king of Poland, or flattering himself that the princess would acknowledge an impostor as her husband; but this impostor was victorious. The widow of the first Demetrius therefore did not hesitate to acknowledge this third as her true and lawful husband; and as the first had found a mother, the third as easily found a wife. The father-in-law swore that this was his son-in-law, and the people believed it as a truth. The boyards, divided between the tyrant Zuski and the impostor, acknowledged neither the one nor the other. They deposed Zuski, and confined him in a convent. This was a superstitious notion which the Russians had, in common with the old Greek

Church, that a prince who had once been made a monk could never reign afterward: this same custom had formerly crept into the Latin Church. Zuski appeared no more, and Demetrius was assassinated at a feast by some Tartars in 1610.

The boyards then offered their crown to Prince Ladislaus, son of Sigismund, king of Poland. Ladislaus made preparations to come and receive it, when a fourth Demetrius appeared to dispute it with him. This person pretended that God had constantly preserved him in the three attempts made upon his life, at Uglis, by the tyrant Boris; at Moscow, by the usurper Zuski, and again by the Tartars. He found several partisans who believed these three miraculous escapes. The city of Pleskoff acknowledged him as czar. He fixed his court there for some years, during which time the Russians, who repented then of having called in the Poles, drove them out everywhere, and Sigismund lost all hope of seeing his son Ladislaus on the throne of the czars. In the midst of these troubles the son of the patriarch Feodor Romanoff was placed on that throne. The patriarch was a relative, by the wife's side, of John Basilides. His son, Michael Federowitz, that is to say, the son of Feodor, was chosen czar at seventeen years of age by his father's interest. All Russia acknowledged this Federowitz; and the city of Pleskoff delivered up to him the fourth Demetrius, who ended his reign on a gallows.

There was yet a fifth left: this was the son of the first who had actually reigned, and had espoused the daughter of the palatine of Sandomir; his mother had conveyed him out of Moscow when she went in quest of the third Demetrius, in whom she pretended to discover her true husband. She afterward took refuge among the Cossacks with this child, who was looked upon as the grandson of John Basilides, and who might very possibly be so; but as soon as Michael Federowitz was settled on the throne he obliged the Cossacks to deliver up the mother and son, and ordered them both to be drowned.

It was not expected that a sixth Demetrius would make his appearance; however, a new pretender showed himself at the court of Russia, under this name, while Michael Federowitz reigned in Muscovy and Ladislaus in Poland. Some young people, who were bathing with a Cossack of their own age, perceived these words pricked upon his back with the point of a needle, in Russian characters, "Demetrius, the son of the czar Demetrius." This person immediately passed for the same son of the first Demetrius who had been drowned by the czar Federowitz's orders. God had worked a miracle for his deliverance;[1] he was treated as the czar's

[1] According to the account given of this young man by Moréri, from the *Impostcurs Insignes,* there was no miracle pretended; and this, in all probability, was really the son of Demetrius Griska. The princess, his mother, being far

son at Ladislaus' court, and was made use of to excite new troubles in Russia. But his protector, Ladislaus, dying, he lost all hope of succeeding,

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advanced in her pregnancy when her husband was murdered, and foreseeing that the usurper's vengeance would fall upon the fruit of her womb, prevailed upon a Cossack, whose wife was in the same situation, to exchange their children: by which means the Cossack's child passed for the son of Demetrius, and was put to death accordingly. The other child being baptized, and marked on the back with characters signifying his birth, was carried away by the Cossack into his own country; where, however, he bestowed upon him a good education, in consequence of having received a considerable sum of money from the mother. This princess had, at her death, disclosed to some of her confidants the secret of her child; but she knew not whither the Cossack had retired, and he died suddenly, without having made Demetrius acquainted with the story of his birth. Chance, however, discovered him, in the little town of Samburg, twelve miles from Lovemburg, in Black Russia. The marks on his back being perceived in the bath, he was acknowledged by John Nicholas Danielouski, treasurer of the kingdom, who sent him in a proper equipage to the court of Ladislaus IV., king of Poland. At the death of this king, he retired to Sweden, where, thinking himself not altogether safe, he removed to the court of Holstein, where he met with a hospitable reception. This prince having sent two ambassadors to Muscovy, one of them, called Burchman, borrowed in his master's name, a considerable sum of money from the grand duke of Muscovy's treasurer. A Russian factor at Lübeck gave the duke of Holstein to understand that the debt should be cancelled if he would deliver Demetrius to the czar. The duke could not resist this temptation: and the prince was sent by sea to Moscow, where he suffered death. His head and members were fixed upon poles before the castle, and his body was devoured by dogs.

and retired into Sweden, and thence to Holstein. Unhappily for him the duke of Holstein having sent an ambassador to the court of Moscow, in order to settle a trade for Persian silks, the ambassador, instead of succeeding in his negotiation, ran greatly in debt at Moscow, and the duke of Holstein, to procure a discharge of this debt, delivered up this last Demetrius, who was quartered alive.

These adventures, which sound fabulous, and yet are very true, never happen among a civilized people, who have a regular form of government. The czar Alexis, son of Michael Federowitz, and grandson of the patriarch Feodor Romanoff, who was crowned in 1645, is scarcely known in Europe, unless by being father of Peter the Great.

Russia, till the time of Peter the Great, continued almost unknown to the southern nations of Europe, and plunged in a miserable despotism of the prince over the boyards, and the boyards over the peasants. What are at present complained of as abuses among civilized nations, would have been divine laws for the Russians. There are some regulations which excite the murmurs of our merchants and manufacturers; but in all the northern countries it was very rare to have a bed; the people in general lay upon the boards, which the better sort covered with a sort of coarse cloth, which they bought at foreign fairs, or else with the skin of some wild or domestic animal.

When the earl of Carlisle was ambassador from

Charles II. of England, in 1663, to Moscow, he travelled through the whole Russian Empire, from the port of Archangel in Poland, and everywhere met with the same customs, and that general poverty which such a custom presupposes, while the court shone with gold and jewels in a rude splendor.

An inhabitant of Crim Tartary, or a Cossack on the banks of the Don, reduced to the savage life of a Russian subject, was far more happy than he, since he was free and at liberty to go where he pleased, whereas a Russian was forbidden to go out of the country under pain of death. You will find in the history of Charles XII. of Sweden, and that of Czar Peter, therein included, how prodigious a difference half a century has produced in this empire. Thirty ages would not have effected what Peter did by travelling only a few years.

CHAPTER CLX.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY — SIEGE OF CANDIA — FALSE MESSIAH.

After the death of Selim II., the Ottomans maintained their superiority in Europe and Asia. They even extended their frontiers under Amurath III., whose generals took Raab in Hungary on one side, and Tibris in Persia on the other. The janissaries, who were so formidable to their enemies, were no less so to their masters: but Amurath showed them that he was worthy to be their com-

mander. They came to him one day to demand the head of the tefterder, or high treasurer. They had already gathered in a tumultuous manner at the inner door of the seraglio, and even threatened the sultan himself. Amurath then ordered the doors to be flung open, and, followed by all the officers of his seraglio, he rushed upon them with his sabre in his hand, put several of them to death, and the rest fled and dispersed of their own accord; and this haughty militia afterward stood quiet spectators of the execution of the principal mutineers. But what soldiers are those who drive their masters to the necessity of fighting them? It was possible at times to suppress, but they never could be subjected, disciplined, or abolished, and frequently took upon themselves the disposal of the empire.

Mahomet III., Amurath's son, deserved more than any other sultan that the janissaries should exercise upon him the right they had arrogated to themselves of giving laws to their masters. He began his reign by strangling nineteen of his brothers, and ordering twelve of his father's wives, whom he suspected of being with child, to be drowned. Scarcely a murmur was heard in the nation, and none but the weak suffered. This monster of cruelty had a glorious and successful reign. He protected Transylvania against the emperor Rudolph II., who quitted the care of his dominions and the empire; he laid Hungary waste, and took Agria in person, in sight of the archduke Matthias;

and throughout his horrid reign maintained the grandeur of the Ottoman Empire.

During the reign of his son, Achmet I., from 1603 till 1631, everything went to ruin. The Turks were continually beaten by Shah Abbas, the great king of Persia, who took from them Tauris, the ancient theatre of the Turkish and Persian wars; drove them out of all their conquests, and freed Rudolph, Matthias, and Ferdinand II. from their fears. He fought for the Christians without knowing it. In 1615 Achmet concluded a shameful peace with the emperor Matthias, by which he restored him Agria, Canisa, Pest, and Alba Regalis, which his ancestors had conquered. Thus it is that fortune balances the events of the world. Thus you have seen the Turks checked in the progress of their victories over the empire and Venice, by Ussum Cassan and Sufi Ismail, and Constantinople saved by Tamerlane.

What passed after Achmet's death sufficiently shows us that the Turkish government is not that absolute monarchy which has been represented to us by historians, as the irresistible law of despotism. This power is, in the hands of the sultan, like a two-edged sword, which wounds its master if too weak to manage it. The empire was frequently, as Count Marsigli observes, a military democracy, which is still worse than arbitrary power. The order of succession was uncertain. The janissaries and the divan did not choose Achmet's son, Osman, for their

emperor in 1617, but Mustapha, the brother of Achmet. In less than two months they were tired of Mustapha, whom they declared incapable of reigning, and threw into prison; after which they proclaimed as emperor his young nephew, Osman, who was only twelve years of age, in whose name they reigned. Mustapha had still a party, though a prisoner. His faction persuaded the janissaries that young Osman had entertained a design of reducing their number, thereby to weaken their power.[1] On this pretext Osman was deposed in 1622, and shut up in the seven towers, whither the grand vizier, Daout, went in person and murdered his sovereign. Mustapha was a second time taken from his prison, acknowledged sovereign, and at the end of twelve

[1] Their pretence for mutinying was the sultan's design to leave Constantinople and make a pilgrimage to Mecca. He had actually begun to send his tents and treasures over into Asia, when the janissaries, assembling at the seraglio, called out for the sultan. On his appearing and asking the cause of the tumult, they told him he should not quit the city, and they demanded the heads of the prime vizier and others, as enemies to the government. Next day the vizier endeavoring to expostulate with them was cut in pieces. Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador at Constantinople, had desired this vizier, whose name was Delauir, to recommend him to the protection of the Kaimacan, or governor of the city, in case he (the vizier) should attend the sultan in his pilgrimage. To this request Delauir answered: "Give yourself no trouble, I shall leave one of my legs behind at your service." Accordingly, the prediction was verified; for in a few days one of his legs was actually hung up in the Hippodrome, near the house of the English ambassador.

months deposed again by the janissaries. Never had prince been treated with such ignominy since the time of Vitellius. He was led through the streets of Constantinople on an ass, exposed to the insults of the populace, then carried back to the seven towers, and there strangled.

Under Amurath IV., surnamed Gasi the Intrepid, everything again assumed a new face. He made himself respected by the janissaries, by employing them against the Persians, and leading them in person to battle. He took Erzerum from the Persians. Ten years afterward he made himself master of Bagdad by assault, which was the ancient Seleucia, capital of Mesopotamia, now called Diarbekir, and which, together with Erzerum, has ever since continued with the Turks. The Persians then thought that they had no other way of securing their frontiers but by laying waste thirty leagues of their own country beyond Bagdad, and making a barren solitude of the most fruitful tract of all Persia. Other nations defend their frontiers by fortresses; the Persians have defended theirs by deserts.

At the time that Amurath made himself master of Bagdad, he sent forty thousand men to the assistance of the great mogul, Shah Jehan, against his son, Aurung-Zeb. Had this torrent, which overflowed Asia, fallen upon Germany, at that time invaded by the Swedes and French, and rent in pieces at home, that empire would have run the risk of losing the glory of never having been subdued.

The Turks acknowledge that this victorious sultan had no other good quality but his courage; that he was cruel, and that his cruelty was heightened by his debauchery; a debauch of wine put an end to his life, and dishonored his memory.

His son Ibrahim, who succeeded him, had the same vices, and was a weak prince, and wholly void of courage; yet it was in his reign that the Turks conquered the Island of Candia, and that nothing remained for them to take but the capital and some few strong places, which held out for twenty-four years.

This island, so famous in antiquity for its laws, its arts, and even its fables, had been once before taken by the Mahometan Arabs, at the beginning of the ninth century, who built the city of Candia, which afterward gave its name to the whole island. They were driven out by the Greek emperors about eighty years afterward; but in the time of the Crusades, when the Latin princes, who had entered into a league to defend Constantinople, invaded the Greek Empire instead of protecting it, the Venetians were rich enough to purchase this island, and fortunate enough to keep it.

An adventure of an extraordinary and somewhat romantic kind first drew the Ottoman arms upon Candia. Six Maltese galleys having taken a large Turkish man-of-war, came to anchor with their prize in a small port of the island. It was said that one of the grand seignior's sons was on board the

Turkish ship. What gave some ground to this report was that the Kislar aga, or chief of the black eunuchs, attended by several officers of the seraglio, was on board, and that there was a child whom he served with great care and respect. This eunuch was slain in the engagement; the officers who survived affirmed that this child belonged to Sultan Ibrahim, and that his mother was sending him into Egypt. He was a long time treated at Malta as the sultan's son, in hopes of a ransom proportionate to his birth; however, the sultan never offered any ransom for him, either because he thought it beneath him to treat with the Knights of Malta, or because the prisoner was not really his son; upon which this pretended prince was slighted by the Maltese, and at length became a friar of the Dominican order, and was for a long time known by the name of the Ottoman father. The Dominicans have ever since boasted of having had the son of the sultan in their order.

The Porte not being able to avenge itself upon the Maltese, who from their inaccessible rocks defied all the Ottoman force, let fall the weight of its wrath upon the Venetians, accusing them of having infringed the treaty of peace, by suffering the Maltese to bring their prize into their harbor. In 1645 the Turkish fleet made a descent upon Candia, took Khania, and in a short time almost all the rest of the island.

Ibrahim had no share in this. The greatest things

have been sometimes done under the weakest princes. The janissaries were absolute masters of the empire in Ibrahim's reign; and if they made conquests they were for themselves and the state, and not for him. At length he was deposed by sentence of the mufti and the divan. The Turkish Empire was then a downright democracy, for after having shut up the sultan in his women's apartments, they proclaimed no other emperor, but the administration was carried on in the name of the sultan, though he no longer reigned.

Our historians pretend to tell us that Ibrahim was strangled by four mutes, from the false supposition that mutes are employed in executing the bloody orders of the seraglio; but they are only kept as buffoons or dwarfs, and never employed in any serious matters. We must, therefore, look upon this story only as a romantic tale; the Turkish annals take no notice of how he died; it was a secret of the seraglio. The many false stories which have been told us concerning the government of Turkey, which is so near to us, is sufficient to make us doubly cautious with regard to our belief of ancient history. How can we hope to learn anything certain concerning the ancient Scythians, Gomarians, and Celts, when we are so badly informed of what passes round about us? This may convince us that we ought to confine ourselves to public events in the history of nations, and not waste our time in fruitless researches into private circumstances, which

are not transmitted to us by ocular or well-vouched testimony.

By a singular fatality, this period, which proved so fatal to Ibrahim, was the same to almost all kings. The throne of Germany was shaken by the famous Thirty Years' War; France was laid waste by civil broils, and the mother of Louis XIV. was obliged to fly with her children from her capital. Charles I. was put to death in London by his own subjects. Philip IV. of Spain, after having lost all his possessions in Asia, lost Portugal likewise. The beginning of the seventeenth century was the time of usurpers from one end of the world to the other. England, Scotland, and Ireland were subdued by Cromwell. A rebel, named Listching, obliged the last emperor of the Chinese race to strangle his wife, his children, and himself, and opened the empire of China to the Tartarian conquerors. Aurung-Zeb revolted against his father in Mogulstan, left him to languish in prison, and enjoyed the fruits of his crimes in peace. The greatest of all tyrants, Muley Ismail, exercised the most shocking cruelties throughout the empire of Morocco. These two usurpers, Aurung-Zeb and Muley Ismail, lived the longest and most happily of all the kings of the earth. Each of their lives exceeded a hundred years. Cromwell, who was as wicked as themselves, did not live so long; but he reigned and died in peace. In running through the history of the world we find weakness punished, and powerful villainy

fortunate; and the universe one vast scene of rapine left to chance.

To return to the war of Candia; it resembled that of Troy. Sometimes the city was in danger from the Turks, and sometimes the Turks were pent up themselves in Canea, which they had made their magazine of arms. The Venetians never gave greater instances of their courage and resolution; they several times defeated the Turkish fleets. St. Mark's treasury was exhausted in raising troops. The troubles of the seraglio, and the irruptions of the Turks into Hungary, made the expedition against Candia go on but slowly for a time; but it was never wholly interrupted. At length, in 1667, Achmet Cuprogli, or Kiuperli, grand vizier to Mahomet IV., and son of a grand vizier, laid regular siege to Candia, which was defended by the captain-general Francesco Morosini, and St. André Montbrun, a French officer to whom the senate had given the command of its land forces

This city would never have been taken, had the Christian princes in any degree imitated the example of Louis XIV., who, in 1669, sent between six and seven thousand men to its assistance, under the command of the duke of Beaufort and the duke de Noailles. The port of Candia was always open; so that there was nothing to do but to send over forces sufficient to resist the janissaries. The duke of Beaufort, who, during the time of the Fronde acted a part rather more strange than illustrious,

went to attack the Turks in their trenches, at the head of the French nobility: but a magazine of powder and grenades happening to blow up in the trenches, frustrated this attempt. The French, thinking that the ground was mined beneath them, fled in disorder, and were closely pursued by the Turks. The duke of Beaufort was killed in this action, with several other French officers of distinction.

Louis XIV., though in alliance with the Ottoman Empire, openly assisted the Venetians, and afterward the Germans, against this empire, without the Turks seeming to be much displeased at it. It is not known what reason this monarch had for recalling his troops from Candia. The duke de Noailles, who had the command of them after the death of the duke of Beaufort, was persuaded that the place could not hold out against the Turks. The captain-general, Francesco Morosini, who had sustained this famous siege so long, might have quitted the ruined city without capitulating, and have retired by sea, of which he was still master: but by capitulating he still kept possession of some places in the island for his republic, and the capitulation was at the same time a treaty of peace. The vizier, Achmet Cuprogli, staked all his glory and that of the Ottoman Empire on taking Candia.

A peace was then concluded between the vizier and Morosini; and the city of Candia, reduced to a heap of ashes, and with only twenty sick Chris-

tians remaining in it, was given up to the Turks. Never had the Christians made a more honorable capitulation with the Mahometans; nor never were articles more exactly observed by conquerors. Morosini was allowed to carry off all the artillery which had been brought into Candia since the commencement of the siege. The vizier furnished boats for conveying those citizens who could not find room on board the Venetian vessels. He likewise presented the burgher who brought him the keys of the town with a purse of five hundred sequins, and two hundred more to those who accompanied him. The Turks and the Venetians visited each other like friends and neighbors, till the day the latter left the island.

Cuprogli, the conqueror of Candia, was one of the best generals and greatest ministers in Europe; and at the same time a just and humane man. He acquired immortal reputation in this long siege, at which, by the account of the Turks themselves, they lost two hundred thousand men.

The Morosinis — for there were four of that name in the besieged town — the Cornaros, the Giustinianis, the Benzonis, the marquis of St. André Montbrun, and the marquis of Frontenac rendered their names illustrious throughout Europe. It is not without reason that this war has been compared to that of Troy. The grand vizier had a Greek about him who deserved the surname of Ulysses; he was called Payanotos. Prince Cantemir tells us that

this Greek brought the Council of Candia to capitulate by a stratagem worthy of Ulysses. The besieged were in daily expectation of some ships from France with provisions. Payanotos made several of the Turkish ships hoist French colors, and sent them out to sea in the night time; the next day they sailed back into the road where the Ottoman fleet was lying, who received them with a general shout of joy. Payanotos, who was treating with the council of war of Candia, persuaded them that the French king had deserted the republic in favor of the Turks, whose ally he was; and this stratagem hastened the capitulation. Captain-General Morosini was accused in open senate of having betrayed the republic. However, he was defended as strongly as he was accused. Here is another conformity between this state and the ancient republics of Greece and Rome, especially the latter. Morosini sufficiently cleared his character afterward by taking Peloponnesus, now called the Morea, from the Turks, a conquest which Venice enjoyed but a very short time. This great man died doge, and left behind him a reputation which will last as long as the republic, which he so eminently served.

SABATEI-SEVI, WHO ASSUMED THE CHARACTER OF MESSIAH.

During the war of Candia there happened an event among the Turks which attracted the attention of all Europe and Asia. A general rumor had

prevailed, founded on idle curiosity, that the year 1666 was to be the epoch of a great revolution in the world. This opinion took its rise from the mystical number 666, which is found in Revelation. Never was the attempt of Antichrist so universal. The Jews on their side pretended that this was the year in which their Messiah was to be born.

A Jew of Smyrna, named Sabatei-Sevi, a man of tolerable learning, and son of a rich broker of the English factory, took advantage of this general prepossession, and declared himself to be the Messiah. He was eloquent, had an engaging figure, affected great modesty, preached justice, delivered himself with the air of an oracle, and declared everywhere that the fulness of time was come. He travelled at first into Greece and Italy. He ran away with a young girl at Leghorn, whom he brought with him to Jerusalem, where he began to harangue his brethren. One of his disciples, called Nathan, offered to act the part of Elias, while Sabatei assumed the character of the Messiah. These two reformed the synagogue at Jerusalem. Nathan explained the prophets, and clearly proved that before the end of the year the sultan would be dethroned, and Jerusalem become the mistress of the world. All the Jews of Syria became proselytes to them. The synagogues resounded with the ancient predictions: they relied on the words of Isaiah: "Arise, Jerusalem, arise in thy strength and in thy glory; there shall be no more uncircum-

cised nor impure persons among you." All the rabbins had this passage in their mouths: "Thither shall your brethren be sent for from all parts of the world to Jerusalem, even to the holy mountain; they shall come in chariots, and in litters, and on mules, and in wagons." In short, a hundred similar sentences, which were repeated by the women and children, kept up these idle hopes. There was not a single Jew but made preparations for lodging in his house one of the old ten tribes which had been dispersed; and the prepossession was so strong that these people everywhere neglected their trades, and kept in readiness to make a journey to Jerusalem.

Nathan made choice of twelve persons in Damascus, to preside over the twelve tribes. Sabatei-Sevi took a journey to Smyrna, to show himself to the brethren there. During his residence in that city, Nathan wrote to him in this style: "King of kings, lord of lords, when shall we be worthy to lie down in the shadow of your ass? I prostrate myself to be trampled beneath the sole of your feet." Sabatei deposed certain doctors of the law who refused to own him, and placed others more tractable in their room. One of the most violent of his enemies, called Samuel Pennia, was publicly converted to him, and acknowledged him to be the Son of God. Sabatei, having one day presented himself before the cadi of Smyrna, with a crowd of his followers, everyone affirmed that they saw a column of fire

between him and the cadi. Some few miracles of the same nature confirmed the authority of his mission. Several Jews brought their gold and jewels, and laid them at his feet.

The pasha of Smyrna resolved to have him seized; but Sabatei departed for Constantinople with the most zealous of his disciples. The grand vizier, Cuprogli, who was then setting out for the siege of Candia, sent to take him out of the ship that was carrying him over to Constantinople, and ordered him to be thrown into prison. The Jews easily obtained entrance into the prison by paying for it, as is the custom in Turkey, and came in crowds to prostrate themselves at his feet, and kiss his chains. He spent his time in preaching to, exhorting, and blessing them, without uttering the least complaint. The Jews of Constantinople, persuaded that the coming of the Messiah would abolish all debts, refused to pay their creditors. The English merchants of Galata bethought themselves of paying a visit to Sabatei in his prison, and told him that, as king of the Jews it behooved him to order his subjects to pay their debts. Sabatei thereupon wrote in these terms to those who were complained against: "To you who wait for the salvation of Israel: discharge your lawful debts, otherwise you shall not partake of our joy, nor enter with us into our kingdom."

Sabatei's prison was entirely filled with those who came to worship him. The Jews began to raise

some disturbances in Constantinople. The people were in general very much displeased with Mahomet IV. It was feared that the prediction of the Jews would occasion some commotions. It seemed likely that so strict a government as that of the Turks would have put any person to death who had called himself king of Israel; however, they contented themselves with removing Sabatei to the castle of the Dardanelles. The Jews at that time thought it was not in the power of man to take away his life.

His fame had reached into all the countries of Europe; he was received at the Dardanelles by deputies from the Jews of Poland, Germany, Leghorn, Venice, and Amsterdam, who paid dearly for permission to kiss his feet, and this is probably what saved his life. The Holy Land was quietly divided by him and his followers in the prison. At length the noise of his miracles was so great that Sultan Mahomet had a curiosity to see this man, and put some questions to him himself. Accordingly this king of the Jews was brought to the seraglio. The sultan asked him in the Turkish language if he was the Messiah. Sabatei modestly replied that he was. But as he spoke the Turkish language very incorrectly, Mahomet told him that he spoke very badly for a Messiah, who ought to have the gift of tongues. "Dost thou perform miracles," continued the sultan. "Sometimes," answered Sabatei. "Well then," said the emperor, "let him be instantly stripped naked; he shall be placed as a

mark for my Ichoglans to shoot their arrows at; and if he is invulnerable, we will acknowledge him as the Messiah." Sabatei, hearing this, immediately fell upon his kness and confessed that this was a miracle which exceeded his power. He then had his choice of being empaled alive, or of turning Mussulman, and going publicly to mosque. He was not long hesitating, but instantly embraced the Turkish religion. He then declared that he had been sent to substitute the Turkish religion in room of the Jewish, according to the ancient prophecies. Notwithstanding this, the Jews of the more distant parts continued to believe in him for a long time; and this scene, which passed without any bloodshed, increased the shame and confusion of this nation.

Some time after the Jews had met with this disgrace in the Ottoman Empire, the Christians of the Latin Church underwent a mortification of a different kind: they had hitherto always kept possession of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, by means of the money they were supplied with by several of the princes of their communion, especially the king of Spain. But that Payanotos, who had concluded the treaty for the delivery of Candia, obtained of the grand vizier, Achmet Cuprogli, that the Greek Church should thenceforward have the custody of all the holy places about Jerusalem. The religious of the Latin Church opposed this by formal process. The affair was pleaded first before the cadi of Jerusalem, and afterward in the great divan of

Constantinople, who declared the pretension of the Greek Church to be justly founded, as Jerusalem had been within its district before the time of the Crusades. The pains the Turks took to inquire into the claims and rights of their Christian subjects, and the permission they gave them of exercising their religion in the very place where it was first formed, is a very striking example of a government at once cruel and indulgent. When the Greeks attempted, by virtue of the sentence of the divan, to enter into possession, these very Latins made resistance, and some lives were lost on the occasion. The government punished no one with death: a fresh proof of the humanity of Cuprogli, who set several examples that have seldom been followed. One of his predecessors, in 1638, ordered the famous Greek patriarch of Constantinople, Cyril, to be strangled upon the repeated complaints of those of his Church. The mildness or cruelty of an administration everywhere depends upon the character of those who govern.

CHAPTER CLXI.

PROGRESS OF THE TURKS — THE SIEGE OF VIENNA.

The torrent of the Ottoman power did not only overspread Candia and the islands belonging to the Venetian republic, but it likewise frequently penetrated into Poland and Hungary. Mahomet IV. marched in person against the Poles, under pretence

of protecting the Cossacks, who had been ill-treated by them. He took from them the Ukraine, Podolia, Volhynia, and the city of Kamenetz; and would not make peace with them till, in 1672, they had agreed to pay him an annual tribute of twenty thousand crowns, from which John Sobieski soon afterward set them free.

The Turks had suffered Hungary to breathe during the Thirty Years' War which overturned Germany. From 1541 they had been in possession of both sides of the Danube, to Buda, inclusive. The conquests of Amurath IV. in Persia had prevented him from turning his arms toward Germany. All Transylvania belonged to princes whom Ferdinand II. and III. were obliged to keep fair with, and who were tributaries to the Turks. What remained of Hungary enjoyed its liberty. It was not so in the time of the emperor Leopold: Upper Hungary and Transylvania were the theatres of revolutions, wars, and devastation.

Of all the people who have passed under our review in the course of this history, none appear to have been more miserable than the Hungarians. Their country, which was depopulated, poor, and distracted between the Catholic and Protestant factions, and several others, was at the time overrun by the armies of the Turks and the empire. It is said that Ragotski, prince of Transylvania, was the first cause of all these misfortunes; he was a tributary to the Porte, and by refusing to pay his tribute, drew

the Ottoman arms upon him. The emperor Leopold sent a body of troops to oppose the Turks, under the command of Montecuculi, who was afterward a rival of the famous Turenne. Louis XIV. likewise sent six thousand men to the assistance of the emperor of Germany, his natural enemy. They had a share in the famous battle of St. Gothard, in 1663, in which Montecuculi beat the Turks. But, notwithstanding this victory, the Ottoman Empire made an advantageous peace, in 1664, by which it kept Buda, and even Neuhausel and Transylvania.

The Hungarians, after being delivered from the Turks, endeavored in the next place to defend their liberties against the emperor Leopold, who respected no privileges but those of his own crown. New troubles now broke forth; young Emeric Tekeli, a Hungarian nobleman, who had the blood of his friends and relations to avenge, which had been shed by the court of Vienna, prevailed on that part of Hungary which was under the dominion of the emperor Leopold to revolt, and put himself under the protection of Mahomet IV., who made him king of Upper Hungary. The Ottoman Porte at that time gave four crowns to Christian princes, namely, those of Upper Hungary, Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia.

The blood of the Hungarian noblemen of Tekeli's party, which had been spilled by the hands of the common executioner at Vienna, had well nigh cost Leopold and his family Vienna and Austria. Kara

Mustapha, who succeeded Achmet Cuprogli as prime minister, was ordered by Mahomet IV. to attack the emperor, under pretence of avenging Tekeli. The sultan came and assembled his army in the plains of Adrianopolis, and it was one of the largest that the Turks had ever sent into the field. It consisted of more than one hundred thousand regular troops, about thirty thousand Crim Tartars, which, together with the volunteers, those who served the artillery, those who had care of the baggage and provisions, the workmen of all kinds, and the servants, made in all fully three hundred thousand men. The whole kingdom of Hungary was hardly sufficient to furnish provisions for this multitude. Kara Mustapha met with no opposition in his march, and advanced without resistance to the very gates of Vienna, and immediately laid siege to the city, July 16, 1683.

Count Staremberg, who was governor of the city, had a garrison whose proper establishment was one thousand six hundred men, of which not above half were effective. The burghers who remained in the town were all armed; and even the university itself, the professors and the students, mounted guard; and their commanding officer was a physician. The retreat of the emperor Leopold increased the general alarm; he had withdrawn from Vienna on July 7, with the empress his mother-in-law, his wife, and all the family. Vienna, which was very badly fortified, could not hold out long. The Turkish annals

say that Kara Mustapha had formed the design of setting up a new empire in Vienna and Hungary, independent of the sultan; and that having entertained a notion that there must be immense treasures in a place which was the residence of the German emperors, he for that reason did not push the siege so vigorously as he ought to have done, fearing that if the city should be taken by assault, the general plunder would deprive him of part of these imaginary riches. He never gave a general assault, though there were many large breaches in the place, and though he knew the town to be without any hopes of assistance. This infatuation in the grand vizier, together with his luxury and effeminacy, saved Vienna, which otherwise must have fallen. It gave time to John Sobieski, king of Poland, to come to its assistance, and to Charles V., duke of Lorraine, and the princes of the empire to assemble an army. The janissaries murmured; and faintheartedness succeeding to indignation, they cried out, "Approach, infidels, you have only to show your hats, and we shall fly."

This was actually the case; for no sooner had the king of Poland and the duke of Lorraine descended from the mountain of Kalenberg, than the Turks took to flight, Sept. 12, 1683, without striking a blow. Kara Mustapha, who thought to find such great riches in Vienna, left all his own in Sobieski's power, and on his return home was strangled. Tekeli, who had been made king by this vizier, being

soon after suspected by the Ottoman Porte of carrying on a private correspondence with the emperor of Germany, was apprehended by the new vizier, and sent in chains to Constantinople. The Turks lost almost all Hungary.

The reign of Mahomet IV. was no longer famous but for its disgraces; in 1687 Morosini took all Peloponnesus, which was of much greater value than Candia. The bombs of the Venetian army destroyed several ancient monuments which the Turks had still left standing, and amongst others the famous temple of Athens, dedicated to "The Unknown Gods." The janissaries, who attributed all their misfortunes to the sultan, resolved to depose him. The governor of Constantinople, Mustapha Cuprogli, the xerif of St. Sophia's mosque, and the nakif or keeper of Mahomet's standard, went in a body to signify to the sultan that he must resign the throne, for such was the will of the nation. The sultan spoke a long time in justification of himself; but the nakif told him, in the people's name, to abdicate the empire, and leave it to his brother Solyman. Thereupon Mahomet replied, "God's will be done, since His anger has fallen upon my head; go and tell my brother that God declares His will by the voice of the people."

Most of our historians pretend that Mahomet IV. was killed by the janissaries; but the Turkish annals testify that he lived five years after being shut up in the seraglio. Mustapha Cuprogli served

as grand vizier under Solyman III. He retook part of Hungary, and in some measure restored the reputation of the Ottoman Empire; but since that time the limits of this empire have never come beyond Belgrade or Temeswaer. The sultans retained Candia, but they did not recover the Peloponnesus till 1715. The famous battles which were fought between Prince Eugene and the Turks have shown that they are to be beaten, but not that much advantage can be gained over them.

This government, which is described as so arbitrary and despotic, appears to have been so only under Mahomet II., Solyman, and Selim, who made everything give way to their wills: but under almost all the other emperors, especially those of late years, you will find the government of Constantinople to be the same as that of Algiers and Tunis; you see that in 1703 Mustapha II. was formally deposed by the militia and citizens of Constantinople. They did not even choose one of his sons to succeed him, but his brother Achmet III. This Achmet himself was condemned in 1730 by the janissaries and the people to resign the sovereign authority to his nephew, Mahmoud, and obeyed without resistance, after having sacrificed his grand vizier and his principal officers to the resentment of the nation. These are the absolute sovereigns so much talked of.[1] It is imagined that a man is by the laws pos-

[1] Despotism in a prince must either depend on the most explicit obedience in the people, or on the power of

sessed of despotic power over half the world, because he can with impunity commit some crimes in his own family, and order a few slaves to be murdered; but he cannot persecute the nation, and is much oftener oppressed than oppressive.

There is a great contradiction in the manners of the Turks; they are at once brutal and charitable; covetous, yet never guilty of theft; their idle manner of living never leads them either to gaming or intemperance; very few of them use their privilege of having a number of wives, and enjoying several slaves; and there is not a great city in Europe where there are less prostitutes. Invincibly attached to their own religion, they hate and despise the Christians, and look upon them as idolaters; and yet they suffer, and even protect them throughout the empire and in their capital; they permit them to make processions in the vast quarter which is set apart for them in Constantinople; and four janissaries march before the procession through all the streets, to preserve them from insults. The Turks are haughty, they know nothing of nobility; they

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the sword; but both these supports will sometimes fail, especially in a fierce and barbarous nation. The people may be oppressed into rebellion, and the troops incensed into revolt. In either case, the nature of the government is out of the question. The revolution that ensues is the effect of violence, and by no means owing to any established law or fundamental constitution; consequently the despotism of a sultan is no proof that the government is not absolute; it proves no more, than that the executive part of that government has revolted against the head.

are brave, but have not adopted the custom of duelling. This is a good quality, which they have in common with all the Asiatics, which arises from their never bearing arms but when they go to war. This was also the custom with the Greeks and Romans, and the contrary practice was introduced among Christians only in the times of barbarism and chivalry, when it was made a point of duty and honor to walk abroad with spurs at their heels, and to sit at table, or say their prayers, with swords by their sides. The Christian nobility was distinguished by this custom, which was soon followed, as I have already observed, by the scum of the people, and placed in the rank of those follies which do not appear such because we are familiar with them.

CHAPTER CLXII.

PERSIA AND ITS MANNERS; THE LATE REVOLUTION IN THAT EMPIRE; AND THAMAS KOULI-KHAN, OR SHAH NADIR.

Persia was at that time more civilized than Turkey; the arts were more honored there, the manners were less brutal, and the general police better observed. This was not merely the effect of climate; the Arabians had cultivated the arts there for more than five centuries. It was they who built Ispahan, Chiras, Kasbin, Kashan, and several other great cities: the Turks, on the contrary, did not build one, but suffered several to fall to ruin. Persia was twice

subdued by the Tartars after the reign of the Arabian caliphs, but the conquerors did not abolish the arts; and the family of the Sufis, during their reign, introduced that gentleness of manners which they had brought with them from Armenia, where they had long resided. Handicraft works were in general thought to be better executed and more finished in Persia than in Turkey. The sciences met with much greater encouragement there; for there was hardly a city without established colleges, in which the belles-lettres were taught. The Persian language, which is softer and more harmonious than that of the Turks, has been very fruitful in poetical productions. They acknowledge the ancient Greeks for their masters in the sciences, who indeed were the first preceptors to Europe. Accordingly we find that the Persian philosophy, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was much the same as ours. Astrology was the growth of their country; and they were much more addicted to it than any other people in the world, as has been already remarked. The custom of distinguishing lucky days by a white mark, and unlucky ones by a black one, has been scrupulously preserved among them; this was a common practice with the Romans, who took it from the Asiatic nations. The peasants of our French provinces are not more strict in observing the proper days for sowing and planting pointed out in their almanacs, than were the courtiers of Ispahan in observing the favorable or unfavorable

hours for beginning any business. The Persians, like many of our nations, abounded in understanding and errors. Some travellers have affirmed that this country is not so well peopled as it might be. It is very probable, that in the time of the Magi it was both better peopled and more fertile; agriculture was then a part of their religion; it is, of all other professions, that which requires the most numerous family, and which, by preserving health and strength, enables a man more easily to bring up a number of children.

Nevertheless Ispahan, before the last revolutions in Persia, was as large and as populous as London. The city of Tauris was reckoned to contain more than five hundred thousand inhabitants. Kashan was thought to be about equal to Lyons. It is impossible that a city should be well peopled, if the surrounding country is not, unless that city subsists wholly by foreign trade. We have at best but a very uncertain idea of the population of Turkey, Persia, and the other states of Asia, excepting that of China; but it is indubitable, that every civilized country that can raise large armies, and which abounds in manufactures must have a necessary number of inhabitants.

The court of Ispahan was much more magnificent than that of Constantinople. We imagine we are reading a relation in Xerxes' time, when we meet, in the accounts of our travellers, with horses covered with rich brocades, and their harness glittering

with gold and precious stones, and the four thousand gold vases which Chardin tells were used at the king of Persia's table. Common things in life, especially eatables, were three times as cheap at Ispahan and Constantinople as they are with us. This cheapness is a mark of plenty; travellers, such as Chardin, who have been well acquainted with the country, do not pretend to tell us that all the lands belong to the king. They own that there are there, as in all other countries, demesnes belonging to the king, lands set apart for the clergy, and estates which belong by right to individuals, which are transmitted from father to son.

All the accounts we have of Persia confirm to us, that there is no monarchical state where the privileges of society are more enjoyed. The people there have more resources against melancholy, which is the poison of life, than any other nation of the East; they assembled together in spacious rooms, which they call coffee-houses, where some amused themselves with drinking that liquor which did not come into vogue with us till toward the end of the seventeenth century. Others talked or read; and others listened to the tellers of stories; while at one end of the room a priest was preaching for a trifling sum of money, and at the other end a class of men who make an art of amusing others were displaying their talents. These are all marks of a sociable people, who deserved to have been happy; and it is said that they were so under the reign of Shah

Abbas, called the Great. This pretended great man was very cruel; but there are examples of men of a brutal disposition who have loved order and the good of the commonweal. A tyrant exercises his cruelty only upon those who are more immediately under his eye, and this very tyrant may, by his laws, sometimes prove a benefactor to the country in general.

Shah Abbas, who was a descendant of Sufi Ismail, got possession of despotic power by destroying a militia, which was much the same as that of the janissaries and the Prætorian guards. It was thus that Czar Peter, in order to establish his power, destroyed the strelitzes in Russia. We may observe in all countries, that the throne is strengthened by troops divided into small bodies; and that on the contrary, those troops united in one great body, have frequently disposed of the throne, and even subverted it. Shah Abbas transported the inhabitants of one country into another, which is what the Turks never have done. These colonies seldom succeed. Of thirty thousand Christian families, which Shah Abbas transported out of Armenia and Georgia, into Mazanderan, by the Caspian Sea, there are but five hundred at present remaining: but he built several public edifices, rebuilt many towns, and raised some useful foundations. He retook from the Turks all that Solyman and Selim had conquered from Persia. He drove the Portuguese out of Ormus. By all these acts he gained the name of

"Great." He died in 1629. His son Shah Sufi, who was still more cruel than Shah Abbas, and not so good a soldier or politician, and who was stupefied in debauchery, had an unhappy reign. The Grand Mogul, Shah Jehan, took Kandahar from the Persians, and Amurath IV. took Bagdad by assault in 1638.

Since that time you may perceive the Persian monarchy visibly declining, till at length the effeminacy of the dynasty of the Sufis completed its ruin. The eunuchs governed both the seraglio and the empire, under Sufi, Musa, and Hussein, the last of that race. It is the greatest debasement to human nature, and the particular scandal of the East, to deprive men of their virility; and it is the highest stretch of despotism to trust the reins of government in the hands of such wretches: wherever they have had great power, the decline and ruin of that state has been the inevitable consequences.

Shah Hussein's weakness reduced the empire to so languid a state, and it was moreover so violently distracted by the factions of the black and white eunuchs, that this dynasty must have fallen of itself, even had it not been destroyed by Mir-Weis and his Aguans. It has been the fate of Persia, that all its dynasties rose by strength, and were overturned by weakness. Almost all its royal families had the fate of Sardanapalus. These Aguans, who overturned the Persian state in the beginning of the present century, were an ancient colony of Tartars, inhabit-

ing the mountains of Kandahar, between India and Persia. Almost all the revolutions which have changed the fate of these countries have been occasioned by Tartars. The Persians had retaken Kandahar from the Mogul, in 1650, under Shah Abbas II. This proved their misfortune. Shah Hussein's minister used the Aguans ill; Mir-Weis, who was no more than a private person, but of a courageous and enterprising spirit, put himself at their head.

This was also one of those revolutions in which the character of the people, by whom it was brought about, had a greater share than the characters of their leaders; for Mir-Weis having been assassinated, had his place filled by another barbarian, named Mahmud, who was his own nephew, and no more than eighteen years old. It was not likely that this young man could do much of himself, or that he could manage these troops of undisciplined mountaineers, as our generals conduct regular armies. Hussein's government had fallen into contempt, and the province of Kandahar having begun the insurrection, the provinces of Caucasus on the side of Georgia revolted also. At length Mahmud laid siege to Ispahan in 1722. Shah Hussein gave up the capital to him, abdicated the kingdom at his feet, and acknowledged him as his master, and thought himself happy that Mahmud would condescend to marry his daughter.

In all the scenes of human cruelty and miseries which have fallen under our observation, since the

time of Charlemagne, there is not any so horrible as the consequences which attended the revolution in Persia. Mahmud thought there was no other way to confirm his power, but by putting to death the principal citizens, with their families. The whole kingdom of Persia has been for these last thirty years what Germany was before the Peace of Westphalia, France in the time of Charles, and England in the Wars of the Roses. But Persia had fallen from a more flourishing state into a greater abyss of misfortunes.

Religion had also a share in these calamities. The Aguans were followers of Omar, and the Persians of Ali; and this Mahmud, who was chief of the Aguans, mixed the most despicable superstition with the most detestable cruelties. He died mad in 1725, after having laid Persia waste. A fresh usurper of the Aguan nation succeeded him, called Asraf. The desolation of Persia now redoubled on all sides. The Turks overran it on the side of Georgia, the ancient Colchis. The Russians fell upon its provinces to the northwest of the Caspian Sea, as far as the gates of Derbent, in the country of Shervan, which was the ancient Iberia and Albania. We are not told what became of the dethroned Shah Hussein during all these troubles. This prince is known only by having served in a time of misery of his country.

One of this emperor's sons, named Thamas, who had escaped the massacre of the imperial family,

still found some faithful subjects, who gathered about him in Taurus. Times of civil wars and commotions always produce extraordinary men, who would have remained unnoticed in peaceable times. A shepherd's son [1] became the protector of Thamas,

[1] According to the account published by Mr. Fraser, who resided many years in Persia, and perfectly understood the language of the country, Nadir-Kouli — for so he was called — was son of the chief of a clan of the Ussha tribe, and governor of a fortress in the province of Khorasan. His uncle, having in his minority usurped this government, Nadir-Kouli entered into the service of the governor of Mushad. He commanded in an expedition against the Tartars, who had made an irruption into Khorasan, and obtained a complete victory over them. Instead of being rewarded for this important service, he had the mortification to see a courtier put over his head, and when he expostulated with the governor of Mushad on this injustice, he received the bastinado, and was turned out of the service. Then he retired to the place of his nativity, where he met with a very cold reception from his uncle and other relatives, and, being reduced to indigence, robbed on the highway. He conducted himself in this occupation with such address, that in a little time his gang amounted to five hundred choice men in arms, with whom he laid the whole country under contribution. He was afterward joined by fifteen hundred men, under the command of Sif O'denbeg, a general in the army of Shah Thamas, which he abandoned on receiving intimation that his sovereign intended to take away his life. Nadir-Kouli was now so formidable that his uncle made advances to him, and even procured his pardon from Shah Thamas, on condition that he should enter into the service of his sovereign. In consequence of this reconciliation, he was feasted in the fortress, the government of which was his hereditary right; and he took that opportunity of seizing the place, after having assassinated the uncle; thus he became master of

and the support of that throne which he afterward usurped. This man, who had raised himself to the rank of the greatest conquerors, was called Nadir. He kept his father's sheep in the plains of Khora-

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all the adjacent country. Shah Thamas being threatened with immediate ruin, hemmed in by the Afghans on one side, and the Turks on the other, thought proper to make use of Nadir-Kouli, whom he once more pardoned, and admitted into his service. Though Nadir acted in an inferior station, he soon stemmed the tide of the Turkish success, which had been for some time uninterrupted. He repulsed them on several occasions, and ingratiated himself with his prince to such a degree that he was declared general of the Persian army in 1728. He now displayed great military talents, defeated the enemy in various engagements, and obtained a great victory over the Afghans, which was so agreeable to Shah Thamas that, as the greatest honor he could confer on his general, he complimented him with his own name; so that from this period he was called Thamas Kouli-Khan, which signifies Lord Thomas. He now demanded the power of levying money throughout the whole kingdom for the payment of the army; a power, which as it rendered him absolute, Shah Thamas granted with great reluctance. He moreover appointed him generalissimo and governor of Khorasan, and gave him his own aunt in marriage. In return for these favors he, in a little time, deposed his prince, on pretence that he had made a scandalous peace with the Turks; and confined him in Tabustan, under a guard of six thousand Afghans. His next step was to seat upon the throne the infant son of Shah Thamas, who was now declared king by the appellation of Shah Abbas III. Immediately after this revolution, he marched against the Turkish general, Topal Othman Pasha, whose army amounted to sixty thousand men, and routed it with great slaughter, the pasha himself having been slain in the beginning of the action. He continued to reduce place after place, until

san, a part of the ancient Hyrcania and Bactria. We must not figure to ourselves these shepherds the same as ours. The pastoral life, which has been preserved in several countries in Asia, is not without its opulence. The tents of some of these rich

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the Turks were stripped of all their conquests: he obliged the Russians to evacuate the places they had taken in Persia, and concluded peace with both. Having thus restored the tranquillity of the kingdom, he summoned all the rulers of provinces, chiefs of tribes, and governors of cities, to attend him on a certain day, when they came, to the number of six thousand, and found him encamped on a plain, at the head of an army amounting to one hundred and fifty thousand men. He told them he had now re-established the peace of his country, and intended to spend the rest of his days in retirement; he therefore desired that they would elect a prince capable of governing them, and deliberate three days upon the choice. In the meantime, his emissaries gave them to understand that it would be for their own interest, and that of their country, to make him a tender of the crown. The hint was taken, and he accepted the offer on the three following conditions: That the crown should be rendered hereditary in his family; that no person, on pain of death and confiscation, should take arms in favor of the dethroned family, on any pretence whatsoever; and that in point of religion, a coalition should be effected between the sects of Ali and the Sunni. The chief priest remonstrating against this third article, Kouli-Khan ordered him to be strangled immediately: then the electors and the people agreed to what he had proposed, and took the oath of allegiance; and he was, in March, 1737, proclaimed emperor of Persia, by the name of Nadir Shah. Perceiving that he had made the clergy his enemies, he seized their lands and revenues for the payment of his army, and published an edict, ordering all his subjects to conform to the Sunni religion, on pain of his royal displeasure.

shepherds are of much greater value than the houses of some of our best farmers. Nadir sold several large flocks belonging to his father, and with the money put himself at the head of a troop of banditti; a thing which is still very common in those countries, where the people have retained the manners of antiquity. He offered himself and his troop to Thamas; and by dint of ambition, courage, and activity, rose to the command of an army. He then took the name of Thamas Kouli-Khan, or Khan Thamas's slave; but the slave was the master under this prince, who was as weak and effeminate as his father, Hussein. He retook Ispahan and all Persia; pursued the new king Asraf, as far as Kandahar; overcame and took him prisoner, in 1729, and caused his head to be struck off, after having first plucked out his eyes.

Kouli-Khan having thus replaced Thamas on the throne of his ancestors, and put it in his power to be ungrateful, resolved to prevent his being so, and shut him up in the capital of Khorasan. He still continued to act under the name of the prince he kept a prisoner. He made war upon the Turk, well knowing that his power was to be strengthened only by those means by which he first acquired it. He beat the Turks at Erivan, retook all that country, and secured his conquests by making a peace with the Russians. And now, in 1736, he caused himself to be declared king of Persia, under the name of Shah Nadir. On this occasion he did not forget the

old custom of putting out the eyes of those who had any title to the throne, which piece of cruelty he practised upon his own sovereign, Shah Thamas. The same armies that had served to desolate Persia now assisted in rendering her formidable to her neighbors. Kouli-Khan put the Turks to flight several times. At length he made an honorable peace with them, by which they restored to him all that they had ever taken from the Persians, excepting Bagdad and its territories.

Kouli-Khan, loaded with crimes and glory, proceeded next to make the conquest of India, as we shall see in the following chapter. On his return to his own country, he found a party formed for the princes of the royal family who were still in being; and in the midst of these new commotions he was assassinated by his own nephew, like Mir-Weis, the first author of the revolution. Persia then became once more the theatre of civil wars. So many devastations destroyed commerce and the arts in this country, by destroying a part of the inhabitants; but where the land is fruitful and the nation industrious, everything is repaired again in the end.

CHAPTER CLXIII.

THE MOGUL.

This prodigious variety of manners, customs, laws, and revolutions, which have all the same principle of interest, constitutes the historical picture of the universe. We have not seen, either in Persia or Turkey, a son in rebellion against his father. In India you behold the two sons of the great mogul, Jehan-Geer, making war successively against their father, in the beginning of the seventeenth century. One of these princes, named Shah Jehan, made himself master of the empire in 1627, after the death of his father, Jehan-Geer, in prejudice of a grandson whom he had left his successor. The order of succession was not settled by law in Asia, as it is in the European nations. These people had one source of evils more than we.

Shah Jehan, who had rebelled against his father, in the end saw his children rise up against him. It is difficult to comprehend how sovereigns, who could not hinder their own children from raising armies against them, could be so absolute as some would persuade us they are. India appears to have been governed nearly in the same manner as the kingdoms of Europe at the time of the great fiefs. The governors of the provinces of Hindostan were masters in their own governments, and viceroyalties were given to the emperor's children. This must

manifestly be an eternal subject of civil wars: accordingly, as soon as Shah Jehan began to decline in his health, his four children, who had each the command of a province, took up arms for the succession. They agreed in dethroning their father, and made war on one another. Exactly the same thing happened here as did to Louis the Feeble, or the Débonnaire. The most wicked of the four brothers, Aurung-Zeb, proved the most fortunate.

The same hypocrisy remarked in Cromwell was found in this Indian prince, together with the same dissimulation and cruelty, but with a more unnatural heart. He at first joined with one of his brothers, and made himself master of the person of his father, Shah Jehan, whom he kept ever afterward in prison; he then assassinated this very brother whom he had made use of, as a dangerous instrument which he was now resolved to get rid of; after which he pursued his other two brothers, whom he conquered, and caused to be strangled one after another.

The old emperor, however, was still living, but was kept under the most rigorous confinement by his son Aurung-Zeb; and his name was often made use of as a pretext for carrying on plots against the tyrant. At length, his father being taken with a slight indisposition, he sent his own physician to attend him, and the old man died. It was generally believed throughout Asia, that Aurung-Zeb had poisoned him. No man was ever a stronger instance

that success is not the reward of virtue. This man, stained with the blood of his brothers, and guilty of his father's death, succeeded in all his undertakings, and died in 1707, after having attained the age of nearly one hundred.[1] Never had any prince a longer or more fortunate career. He added to the mogul's empire, the kingdoms of Vasapour and Golconda, all the country of Karnatic, and almost the whole of that great isthmus which confines the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar. This man, who would have suffered the most ignominious death, had he been tried by the common laws of nations, was, without contradiction, the most powerful prince in the universe.

The magnificence of the kings of Persia, dazzling as it may appear to us, was only the attempt of a middling court, to show something like splendor, in comparison with the riches of Aurung-Zeb.

In all times the Asiatic princes have accumulated

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[1] His three brothers were called Dara-cha, Morat-Bakchi, and Sultan-Sujah. His elder brother, Dara-cha, after having been defeated by him in a bloody battle, was betrayed into his hands and beheaded. He imprisoned Morat-Bakchi in the fortress of Gonateor, and Sultan-Sujah fled into the kingdom of Arakan. Aurung-Zeb resembled Oliver Cromwell in his superstition, as well as in his perfidy and ambition; for, when he ascended the throne, he imposed a penance on himself for the expiation of his crimes. He lived on barley bread, herbs, and sweetmeats, and drank nothing but water. This temperance, no doubt, contributed to his longevity, though he never reached the age of one hundred.

treasures, their riches consisting in what they can heap up; whereas the wealth of the European princes consists in the money that circulates in their dominions. The treasure amassed by Tamerlane was still in being, and his successors had been continually adding to it. Aurung-Zeb increased it by most astonishing riches. One of his thrones only was valued by Tavernier at one hundred and sixty millions of the money of his time, which is more than three hundred millions of the present currency. The canopy of his throne was supported by twelve pillars of gold, surrounded with large pearls. The canopy itself was of pearls and diamonds, and at the top was a peacock, who spread a tail of precious stones: all the rest was in proportion to this astonishing magnificence. The greatest festival of the year was that day on which the emperor was weighed in a pair of golden scales in presence of the people, and on this day he received presents to the amount of over fifty millions.

If ever climate influenced the manners of men, it is assuredly that of India. The emperors display the same luxury, and lead the same effeminate lives as those Indian kings mentioned by Quintus Curtius; and the Tartars, who conquered this country, have sensibly adopted the same manners and become Indians.

All this excess of opulence and luxury only served to make the state more unhappy. In 1739, the same thing happened to Mahmud, Aurung-Zeb's grand-

son, as befell Crœsus, to whom it was said: "You have indeed much gold, but he that can make a better use of steel than you will deprive you of this gold."

Thamas Kouli-Khan, who had raised himself to the throne of Persia, after having deposed his sovereign, conquered the Afghans, and took Kandahar, pursued his success, and marched to the capital of India, for no other reason than to deprive the mogul of all those treasures which his ancestors had taken from the Indians. There is not an instance of so numerous an army as that which the great mogul raised against Thamas Kouli-Khan, nor of so weak a conduct as that of this prince. He brought twelve hundred thousand men, ten thousand pieces of cannon, and two thousand armed elephants, into the field, to oppose the conqueror of Persia, who had with him only sixty thousand men. Darius did not bring so great a force against Alexander.

It is further said that this vast multitude of Indians was covered by intrenchments six leagues in length, on that side by which Kouli-Khan could attack them. So prodigious an army was sufficient to surround its enemies, cut them off from all communication, and destroy them by famine, in a country with which they were unacquainted. Instead of that, the little Persian army besieged the great one, cut off its supplies of provisions, and destroyed it piecemeal. The great mogul, Mahmud, seemed to have come thither only to make a parade of his vain

grandeur, and subject it to the power of these disciplined robbers: in fact, he came and humbled himself to Thamas, who talked to him in a magisterial tone, and treated him as his subject. This conqueror now entered Delhi, which is represented as a city larger and more populous than either London or Paris. He dragged this rich and miserable emperor with him wherever he went. At length he shut him up in a tower, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor of India.

Some of the late mogul's officers, having attempted to seize the opportunity of a night when the Persians were given up to riot and debauch, to take up arms against their conquerors, Thamas delivered the city up to plunder, and everything was ravaged by fire and sword. He carried off much greater riches from Delhi than the Spaniards had taken at the conquest of Mexico. These immense treasures, which had been amassed by a continual rapine of four centuries, and were carried away into Persia by another rapine, have not prevented the Persians from being the most miserable people upon earth. These riches are dispersed or buried, during the civil wars, till such time as some future tyrant should again gather them together.

Kouli-Khan, when he left India to return to Persia, had the vanity to leave the title of emperor to Mahmud-Shah, whom he had dethroned; but he committed the government of the empire to a viceroy, who had brought up the great mogul, and

had made himself independent of him. He separated three kingdoms from this vast empire, namely: Cashmere, Kabul, and Multan, to incorporate them with Persia, and imposed a tribute of several millions on Hindostan.

Hindostan then was governed by the viceroy and a council, appointed by Thamas. Mahmud, who still retained the title of king of kings, and sovereign of the universe, was a mere phantom. All things had now resumed their common course, when Kouli-Khan was assassinated in Persia, in the midst of his triumphs: since that the Mogul has ceased to pay tribute, and the provinces which had been taken from the empire by the Persian victor have been reannexed to it.

We are not to believe that this king of kings, Mahmud, was despotic before his misfortunes; Aurung-Zeb had made himself such by vigilance, conquest, and cruelty. Despotism is a violent state, which seems incapable of duration. It is impossible that, in an empire where viceroys keep armies of twenty thousand men in their pay, these viceroys should ever pay a long or blind obedience to their sovereign. The lands which the emperor bestows on them become from that instant independent of him. We must be careful how we give credit to the erroneous assertion, that in India the product of the people's labors all belongs to one man. There are several Indian castes who still preserve their old possessions. The rest of the lands have been given

to the grandees of the empire, the rajahs, the nabobs, and the omrahs. These lands are cultivated as in other places, by farmers, who enrich themselves by it, and by colonists, who work for their masters. The lower class of people are poor in India, notwithstanding the riches of the country, as they are in almost every other part of the world; but they are not bond slaves, nor confined to a particular spot, as they were formerly in Europe, and still continue to be in Poland, Bohemia, and several of the countries of Germany. The peasant throughout all Asia is at liberty to leave his native country whenever he is discontented with his situation, and to go in search of a better where he can find it.

The sum of what we have to say of India in general is, that it is governed as a conquered country by thirty tyrants, who acknowledge an emperor, sunk like themselves, in luxury and debauch, and who devour the substance of the people. There are no fixed courts of justice here, the depositaries of the laws, which protect the weak against the powerful.

A problem very difficult to solve, is how the gold and silver which comes from America into Europe should be continually carried into Hindostan, and there swallowed up, never to reappear; and that nevertheless the people should be in general poor, and work almost for nothing. But the reason is, that the money does not go among the people; it goes to the merchants, who pay immense duties to

the governors; these governors give a great part of their profits to the great mogul, and hide the rest. Man's labor is worse paid in this, the richest country of the earth, than anywhere else; because in every country the pay of a day laborer seldom exceeds his subsistence and clothing; now the extreme fruitfulness of the soil in India, and the heat of the climate, make subsistence and clothing come to little or nothing. The laborer who seeks for diamonds in the mines, earns enough to buy him a little rice, and a cotton shirt; in all countries the rich have the services of the poor upon easy terms.

I shall not repeat what I have already said of those idolaters who are still found in great numbers in India: their superstitions are the same as they were in Alexander's time. The Brahmins teach the same religion; the women still throw themselves into the fire, which is lighted to burn their husbands' bodies, as has been frequently seen by our travellers and merchants. The disciples of a sect sometimes make it a point of honor to not survive their masters. Tavernier relates that he was witness to a transaction of this nature, even in Agra, one of the capital cities of India. A Brahmin having died, an Indian merchant who had studied under him came to the Dutch lodge, settled his accounts with them, and told them that he was resolved to follow his master into the other world, and actually starved himself to death, in spite of all their endeavors to persuade him to live.

One thing worthy of observation is, that the arts hardly ever go out of the families where they are cultivated: the daughter of an artisan never marries but with those of her father's trade. This is a very ancient custom in Asia, and was formerly a standing law in Egypt.

The law in Asia and Africa, which has always allowed a plurality of wives, cannot be put in practice by the poor people. The rich have always reckoned their wives as part of their fortunes, and have kept eunuchs to take care of them. This has been a custom time out of mind in India, as well as throughout all Asia. When the Jews wanted a king over three thousand years ago, Samuel, their magistrate and high priest, who opposed the establishment of the regal power, remonstrated that a king would lay taxes upon them for the support of his eunuchs. Men must have been for a long time accustomed to slavery not to look upon such a custom as very extraordinary.

While I was about finishing this chapter, a new revolution has turned everything upside down in Hindostan. The tributary princes and the viceroys have all shaken off the yoke. The people in the inland countries have dethroned their sovereign. India, like Persia, has become the seat of civil wars. These disasters show us that the administration was very bad, and at the same time, that this pretended despotism had no real existence. The emperor was

not even powerful enough to make himself obeyed by a rajah.

Our travellers have imagined that arbitrary power resided essentially in the person of the great mogul, because Aurung-Zeb subjected everything to his will. They have not considered that this power is founded wholly on the right of arms, and lasts no longer than he who exercises it has the command of a strong army; and that this very despotism which destroys everything, is likewise its own destroyer. It is not a form of government, but a subversion of all government. It adopts caprice for rule, and does not support itself by the laws, which can alone insure its duration; and this colossus falls to the ground the instant its arm ceases to be outstretched. From its ruins there arise several petty tyrannical governments, and the state never resumes a settled form till the laws are restored to their due functions.

CHAPTER CLXIV.

CHINA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, AND AT THE BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH.

It can certainly be of very little use to you to know that in the Chinese dynasty, which reigned after the Tartar dynasty of Genghis Khan, the emperor Quan-cum succeeded Kin-cum, and Kin-cum Quan-cum. It is sufficient that these names are found in the chronological tables; but as you confine your attention wholly to events and manners, you will

readily pass over these void spaces to come at times distinguished by great things. The same effeminacy which proved the ruin of Persia and India occasioned a more thorough revolution in China in the last century, than that brought about by Genghis Khan and his sons. The Chinese Empire, at the beginning of the seventeenth century was in a much happier state than either India, Persia, or Turkey. It is not in human imagination to form a better plan of government than that by which the great courts of justice are regulated, which are all subordinate to one another, and whose members must undergo the strictest examination before they are admitted. These courts regulate all matters in China. There are six supreme courts which preside over all the other courts in the empire. The first inspects the conduct of all the mandarins; the second manages the finances; the third superintends the religious ceremonies, and the arts and sciences; the fourth directs the affairs relative to war; the fifth overlooks the courts set apart for judging criminal causes; and the sixth has the care of public works. The result of the several decisions is carried before a supreme tribunal. Under these six courts there are forty-four subaltern ones, which sit at Pekin. Every mandarin of a province or a city is assisted by a court. It is impossible that under such an administration an emperor can ever exercise arbitrary power. He has indeed the making of the general laws; but, by the constitution of the state, he can do nothing

without first consulting men learned in the laws and chosen by suffrage. Although the emperor's subjects always prostrate themselves before him as if he were a God, and the least failure in respect to his person is punished as an act of sacrilege, still this does not prove his government to be despotic and arbitrary. A despotic government would be that where the prince may, without infringing the laws, deprive a subject of his fortune or life without form of trial, and for no other reason than that it is his will. Now, if ever there was a state in which the life, honor, and fortune of the subject was under the protection of the laws, it is that of China. The greater the number of public bodies who are guardians of the laws, the less arbitrary is that government; and if the sovereign sometimes makes an ill use of his power against the few who are immediately under his cognizance, he cannot do so with respect to the multitude who are not known to him, and who live under the protection of the law.

Husbandry, which has been carried to a greater degree of perfection there than was ever known in Europe, sufficiently shows that the people were not burdened with those taxes which put a check to the industry of the husbandman. The great numbers of those employed in giving pleasure to others, show that the towns were as flourishing as the country was fertile. There is not a city in the empire which had not its feasts and shows. They did not, like us, go to the playhouses; they sent for

whole companies of comedians to their own houses. The comic and tragic art was common among them, but without being in great perfection; for the ancients have not improved any of the arts of genius excepting morality; but they enjoyed to a degree of profusion such as they knew; and, in a word, were as happy as human nature can be.

This happiness was succeeded, in 1630, by the most terrible catastrophe and universal desolation that could befall a state. The family of the Tartar conquerors, descendants of Genghis Khan, had done what all other conquerors had endeavored to do: they weakened a nation of conquerors, that they might not, while in possession of the throne, have the same revolution to fear from the vanquished that they themselves had caused. This dynasty, which was that of Ivan, having been afterward expelled by the dynasty of Ming, the Tartars who lived to the northward of the great wall were looked upon only as savages, from whom there was nothing to hope nor to fear. Beyond the great wall lies the kingdom of Lian-tung, incorporated by the Genghis family with the empire of China, and become wholly Chinese. To the north end of Lian-tung, there were some herds of Mantchou Tartars, whom the viceroy of Lian-tung treated with an oppressive severity. They made some bold representations, such as we are told the Scythians did ever after the invasion of their country by Cyrus; for the genius of a people

is always the same till a long course of oppression causes them to degenerate.

All the answer the governor made to their complaint was to burn their cabins, carry away their flocks, and endeavor to transplant the inhabitants. Then these Tartars, who were free, chose a chief of their own to carry on a war against their oppressors. This chief, who was called Taitsou, soon made himself king; he beat the Chinese, entered victorious into Lian-tung, and took the capital by assault.

This war was carried on in the same manner as those of distant times. Firearms were at that time unknown in this part of the world. The ancient arms were the only ones in use; such as arrows, spears, clubs, and scimitars: they made little use of bucklers and helmets; but there were very few coats of mail. Their fortifications consisted of a ditch, a wall, and towers upon it; they sapped the wall, or mounted it by scaling-ladders. The victory depended solely on bodily strength; and the Tartars, who were accustomed to sleep in the open fields, must necessarily have the advantage over a people bred up in a more delicate manner.

Taitsou, the first chief of the Tartar hordes, dying in 1626, at the beginning of his victories, his son, Taitsong, immediately took the title of Emperor of the Tartars, and put himself on a level with the emperor of China. It is said that he could read and write; and it appears that he acknowledged only

one God, like the Chinese literati; for he thus expresses himself in one of the circular letters which he wrote to the magistrates of the Chinese provinces: "Tien raises up whom he pleases; perhaps he may have chosen me to be your master." And, in fact, after 1628 Tien caused him to gain victory after victory. He was a man of great abilities; he civilized his brutal followers, to make them more obedient, and established laws in the midst of war. He always headed his troops in person; and the emperor of China, Hoaitsang, whose name has been lost in obscurity, remained shut up in his palace, with his women and eunuchs, and was the last emperor of the Chinese race: he was not able to prevent Taitsong and his Tartars from taking from him all his northern provinces, nor yet to suppress the rebellion of one of his mandarins, named Listching, who seized upon the southern ones. While the Tartars were ravaging the countries to the eastward and northward, this Listching made himself master of all the rest. It is said that he had six hundred thousand horsemen, and four hundred thousand infantry. He came with the flower of his army before Pekin, where the emperor still continued shut up in his palace, and was ignorant of a great part of what was going on. Listching sent back to the emperor two of his chief eunuchs whom he had made prisoners, with a very short letter, in which he exhorted him to quit the empire.

And here we may see an instance of the Asiatic

pride, and how well it agrees with the general effeminacy of their manners. The emperor ordered the two eunuchs to have their heads struck off, for having brought him a disrespectful letter; and his courtiers had much ado to make him sensible that the heads of the princes of the blood, and a great number of mandarins, whom Listching had in his power, would be made to answer for the death of the eunuchs.

While the emperor was deliberating upon what answer he should send back, Listching had already entered the city. The empress had barely time enough to save some of her sons; after which she shut herself up in her apartment, and there hanged herself. The emperor immediately ran thither, and being greatly taken with this instance of conjugal fidelity, he exhorted the rest of his wives, to the number of forty, to follow the example. Father Mailla, the Jesuit, who wrote this account in Pekin itself, in the last century, says that all these women obeyed without a murmur; but it is quite possible that a few of them may have wanted assistance. The emperor, whom this writer represents as a very good kind of a prince, perceiving, after the execution, his only daughter, about fifteen years old, whom the empress had not thought proper to let out of the seraglio, he exhorted her to hang herself, as well as her mother and mother-in-law; but the young princess desiring to be excused, this very good prince, as Mailla calls him, gave her a violent

blow with his sabre, and left her dead. It may be expected that such a father and a husband would have slain himself upon the dead bodies of his wives and his daughter; but he retired to a pavilion without the city, to wait for news; and being at length informed that everything was desperate, and that Listching had taken possession of his palace, he strangled himself, and at once put an end to an empire and a life which he had not had the courage to defend.[1] This extraordinary event happened in 1641. It was under this last emperor of the Chinese race that the Jesuits at length made their way into the court of Pekin. Father Adam Schall, a native of Cologne, had so far gained the good graces

[1] This catastrophe is differently related by Fathers Duhalde and Palafox. This last says that the emperor, being abandoned even by his guards, retired with his empress into a small wood, incapable of uttering one word, such was the excess of his grief. The empress, having tenderly embraced him, hanged herself with a silken cord. The emperor, having drunk a glass of wine, though at other times averse to that liquor, bit his own finger to produce an effusion of blood, with which he wrote a long letter, complaining of the treachery of his officers, lamenting the ruin of his empire, and the extinction of his family; concluding with this declaration, that as he had lost everything for which he chose to live, he thought it high time to part with life itself. Duhalde says he wrote the following sentence on the border of his vest: "I have been basely deserted by my subjects: do what you will with me, but spare my people." Then he cut off his daughter's head with one stroke of his scimitar, and hanged himself. The traitor Li insulted his body, and murdered all his surviving children, except his eldest son, who

of this emperor, by his knowledge of physics and mathematics, that he was made a mandarin. He was the first to show the Chinese how to cast brass cannon; but the few that were in Pekin were not sufficient to save the empire: besides, they did not know how to manage them. Mandarin Schall left Pekin before the revolution.

After the emperor's death, the Tartars and the rebels disputed the empire with each other. The Tartars were united and disciplined, the Chinese divided and undisciplined. They were obliged to give way little by little to the Tartars. That nation had taken a kind of spirit of superiority which did not depend upon their leader: it was with them as it had been with Mahomet's Arabians, who were so formidable of themselves for upwards of three hundred years.

The death of emperor Taitsong, whom the Tartars lost at that time, did not prevent them from pursuing their conquests. They chose one of his nephews, who was yet a child, in his stead: this was Chang-ti, father of the famous Camg-hi, under whom the Christian religion has made such progress in China. These people, who had first taken up

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escaped. U-sang-ghey, who commanded the imperial forces in the province of Lian-tung, instead of acknowledging the usurper, made peace with the Mantchou Tartars, and their king, Tsong-te, joined him with eighty thousand men. Li fled from Pekin; and Tsong-te, dying, was succeeded by his infant son, Sun-chi, who, in process of time, ascended the imperial throne of China.

arms in defense of their liberty, were not acquainted with hereditary right. We see that all nations have begun by choosing persons to head them in war, and afterward these chiefs have become absolute, excepting in some of the European nations. Hereditary right has been established and made sacred by time.

A minority has been the ruin of almost all conquerors, and yet it was during the minority of Chang-ti that the Tartars completed the reduction of China. The usurper, Listching, was slain by another Chinese usurper, who pretended to avenge the death of the late emperor. Several of the provinces set up true or false children of their dead prince, like the Demetriuses in Russia. The Chinese mandarins endeavored to usurp the provinces; but the more powerful Tartar usurpers at length got the better of all. There was a Chinese general, who for some time checked their progress, by having a few cannon which he had procured either from the Portuguese of Macao, or which were some of those cast by the Jesuit Schall. It is very remarkable that the Tartars, who were entirely destitute of artillery, should prevail over those who were provided with it: this was the very reverse of what happened in the New World, and a proof of the superiority of the northern people over those of the South.

What is most surprising is that the Tartars conquered all this vast empire of China, foot by foot, and under a minority; for their young emperor

Chang-ti, dying in 1661, when barely twenty-four years old, and before their dominion was firmly established, they elected his son, Camg-hi, at eight years old, being the same age at which they had chosen his father; and this Camg-hi restored the empire of China, having been so prudent and fortunate as to make himself equally well obeyed both by the Chinese and Tartars. The missionaries, whom he made mandarins, have extolled him as a perfect prince. Some travellers, and especially Legentil, who were not mandarins, say that he was sordidly covetous, and full of caprices; but these strokes of private character do not enter into this general picture of the world. It is sufficient that the empire was happy under this prince; it is in this view that we are to regard and judge of kings.

During the course of this revolution, which lasted thirty years, one of the greatest mortifications the Chinese underwent was that their conquerors obliged them to cut off their hair after the Tartar manner. There were some who chose to die rather than part with their heads of hair. We have had an instance of the Muscovites raising several seditions when Czar Peter I. obliged them to cut off their beards; so forcible is custom among the common people!

Time has not yet confounded the victorious with the vanquished people, as has happened in our Gaul, in England, and elsewhere.

Under the reign of Camg-hi, the European mis-

sionaries enjoyed a great degree of credit; several were lodged in the emperor's palace: they built churches, and had opulent houses. In America they had been successful in teaching the necessary arts to savages. In China they had taught the most refined arts to a learned and sensible nation. But jealousy soon destroyed the fruits of their wisdom, and that restlessness and contentious spirit, which is in Europe inseparably connected with learning and talents, overthrew the greatest designs.

The Chinese were astonished to see wise and learned men disagreeing even about what they came to teach, and mutually persecuting and anathematizing one another, entering criminal processes against one another, at the court of Rome, and striving to have it decided in a meeting of cardinals, whether the emperor of China understood his own mother tongue as well as missionaries from France and Italy.

These disputes were carried to such a length that the Chinese government feared or affected to fear the same disorders as had been raised in Japan. Camg-hi's successor therefore forbade the exercise of the Christian religion, while the Mahometans and all the different sects of bonzes were permitted to follow theirs. But this court, finding that want of the mathematics as great an evil as the pretended danger from a new religion, retained the mathematicians, and contented itself with imposing silence on the missionaries.

There is one event which well merits our attention; this is the famous earthquake which happened in China in 1699, in the reign of the emperor Camg-hi. This phenomenon proved more fatal than that which of late years destroyed the cities of Lima and Lisbon. It is said that nearly four hundred thousand souls perished in it. These shocks must necessarily have been very frequent in our globe: the number of volcanoes which vomit fire and smoke give reason to think that the outward shell of the earth rests upon vast gulfs filled with an inflammable matter. It is probable that the part which we inhabit has experienced as many revolutions from physical causes as the nations of the world in general have from rapaciousness and ambition.

CHAPTER CLXV.

JAPAN, IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

In the multitude of revolutions which we have seen from one end of the universe to the other, there seems to have been a fated chain of causes by which mankind have been carried away, as the waves and sands are driven by the wind. What has happened in Japan is an additional proof of it. A Portuguese prince, without either power or riches, in the fifteenth century, conceived the notion of sending a few ships to the coast of Africa. Soon afterward the Portuguese discovered Japan. Spain, for a

while the sovereign of Portugal, carried on an immense trade with the Japanese. The Christian religion was carried into that country by means of this trade; and, under favor of the general toleration allowed to all sects in Asia, introduced and established itself there. Three Christian princes of Japan made a journey to Rome to kiss the feet of Pope Gregory XIII. Christianity was on the point of becoming the prevailing religion of Japan, and in a short time the only one, when its very power proved the means of its destruction. We have already remarked, that the missionaries had a number of enemies there; but they had also secured a powerful party in their favor. The bonzes feared the loss of their ancient possessions, and the emperor that of his kingdom. The Spaniards had made themselves masters of the Philippine Islands in the neighborhood of Japan. The Japanese knew how they had acted in America; no wonder therefore that they took the alarm. The emperor, in 1586, had banished the Christian religion from his dominions, and had forbidden the practice of it by his subjects, under pain of death; but as they still allowed a trade to be carried on with the Portuguese and Spaniards, their missionaries made proselytes as fast as the government condemned them. It was then forbidden to introduce any Christian priests into the country; but notwithstanding this prohibition, the governor of the Philippine Islands sent Franciscan friars, in character of ambassadors, to the emperor

of Japan. These ambassadors began by building a public chapel in the capital city, called Macao; upon which they were driven out of the kingdom, and the persecution was redoubled. There was for a long time a vicissitude of cruelties and indulgence. It is plain that reasons of state were the sole motives for these persecutions; and that the Christian religion was opposed from the apprehension that it would be made an instrument to favor the designs of the Spaniards; for the religion of Confucius was never persecuted by the Japanese, though introduced by a people of whom they were jealous, and with whom they were frequently at war. That learned and judicious observer, Kempfer, tells us, that in 1674, the inhabitants of Macao being numbered, there were found twelve different religions in that capital, who all lived peaceably; and that these twelve sects contained more than four hundred thousand people, exclusive of the numerous court of the Dairi, the sovereign pontiff. It seems, then, that if the Portuguese and Spaniards could have contented themselves with liberty of conscience, they might have lived as quietly in Japan as the other twelve religions; and, even in 1636, they continued to carry on a profitable trade, seeing that they carried over to Macao two thousand three hundred and fifty chests of silver.

The Dutch, who had traded to Japan ever since 1600, were jealous of the traffic carried on by the Spaniards. In 1637 they took a Spanish ship off the

Cape of Good Hope, bound from Japan to Lisbon, on board of which they found several letters from a Portuguese officer named Moro, who was a kind of consul to that nation. These letters contained the plan of an intended conspiracy of the Christians in Japan against the emperor, specifying the number of ships and troops they expected from Europe and the settlements in Asia, in order to make the scheme succeed. These letters were sent by the Dutch to the court of Japan; Moro owned his handwriting, and was publicly burned. Upon this discovery the government chose rather to renounce all the advantages of a trade with strangers, than to see itself exposed to such machinations. The emperor, in an assembly of all the grandees of his kingdom, issued the famous edict, by which it was enacted that no Japanese should for the future presume to stir out of the country, under penalty of death; that no stranger should be admitted into the empire; that all the Spaniards and Portuguese should be sent away; that all the natives who were Christians should be imprisoned, and that a reward of one thousand crowns should be given to anyone who should discover a Christian priest. The violence of this procedure in the Japanese, who voluntarily separated themselves from the rest of the world, and gave up all the profits of trade, leaves no room to doubt that the conspiracy was real; but what proves it still more fully, is, that the Christian natives, with some few Portuguese at their head,

actually assembled in arms to the number of thirty thousand and more; they were defeated in 1638, and retired to a stronghold on the seaside, in the neighborhood of the port of Nagasaki.

At the same time all other foreign nations were driven from Japan; even the Chinese were included in this general law, because some missionaries had boasted to the Japanese that all China was on the point of being converted to Christianity. The Dutch themselves, who had discovered the conspiracy, were expelled as well as the rest; the factory which they had at that time at Ferando was already demolished; their ships had sailed; and only one remained, which the government summoned to fire upon the fortress, whither the Christians had fled for refuge. The Dutch captain, whose name was Kokbeker, performed this horrid service. The Christians were soon forced in their asylum, and put to death with the most excruciating tortures. Once more let me observe, that when we represent to ourselves such strange events, caused in Japan by a Portuguese and a Dutch captain, we cannot but be convinced of the restless spirit of the Europeans, and of the destiny which influences all nations.

The odious service which the Dutch had performed for the Japanese government did not procure them that indulgence they expected from it, which was, to be allowed a free trade and settlements there; however, they obtained permission to land

upon a little island near the port of Nagasaki, and there bring a fixed quantity of merchandise.

But they were obliged to trample upon the cross, and renounce all marks of Christianity, and likewise to swear that they were not of the same religion as the Portuguese, before they were admitted into this little island, where they live, as it were, in a prison; for as soon as they arrive the inhabitants take possession of their ships and goods, upon which they set a price. Thus, for the sake of getting money, they subject themselves every year to this confinement; and those who are kings at Batavia, and in the Molucca Islands, suffer themselves to be here treated as slaves; it is true, they are conducted from this little island to the emperor's court, and are honorably and courteously received wherever they come, but strictly guarded and observed. Their guides and their guards engage in a written oath, signed with their blood, to observe all the actions of the Dutch, and give an exact account of them.

It has been asserted in several books, that the Dutch abjured Christianity in Japan. This opinion had its source in the adventure of a Dutchman, who made his escape and lived for some time among the natives; but being discovered, in order to save his life he said he was no Christian, but a Dutchman. The government of Japan has, since this revolution, forbidden the building of vessels fit for going to sea; they have only long barks, worked

with sails and oars, for trading to their islands. It is looked upon as the greatest of crimes for strangers to frequent the country; it seems that they are still in dread of the danger they have been in. This fear agrees neither with the courage of the nation, nor with the greatness of the empire; but the horror of the past has operated more with them than the fear of the future. The conduct of the Japanese has been, in every respect, that of a people, generous, open, haughty, and extreme in their resolutions. At first they received strangers with cordiality; and when they thought themselves insulted and betrayed by them, they broke off all connections forever.

When Colbert, that minister of immortal memory, first erected an East India Company in France, he wanted to try if he could not bring about a trade for the French with Japan, by employing only Protestants, who might safely swear that they were not of the same religion as the Portuguese; but the Dutch opposed this scheme, and the Japanese, satisfied with receiving one nation among them whom they treated as prisoners, would not admit of two.

I shall not take any notice here of the kingdom of Siam, which has been represented to us as much larger and more opulent than it really is. We shall find in the "Age of Louis XIV." what little is necessary to be known concerning it. Korea, Cochin-China, Tonquin, Laos, Ava, and Pegu are countries of which we have very little knowledge; and, amidst the prodigious number of islands scattered

about the extremities of Asia, there is only that of Java, where the Dutch have fixed the centre of their dominion and trade, that can enter into the plan of our general history. The same may be said of the people who inhabit the middle part of Africa, and an infinite number of smaller nations in the New World. I shall only observe that, before the sixteenth century, more than one-half of the globe was ignorant of the use of bread and wine, which is still unknown to part of America and the eastern part of Africa; insomuch that we are obliged to carry both those viands thither to celebrate the mysteries of our religion.

Cannibals are much more rare than is usually asserted; none have been seen by any of our travellers for the past fifty years. There are many kinds of men manifestly different from one another. Several nations still live in the state of pure nature; and while we make the tour of the world to discover in their countries wherewithal to satisfy our greediness, these people do not take the trouble of informing themselves whether there exist any other men than themselves, and pass their lives in a happy indolence, which to us would be a degree of misery.

Much yet remains for our vain curiosity to discover; but if we would confine ourselves to what is useful, there is already too much discovered.

ADDITIONS

TO

ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY.

THE GERMANS.

Cæsar tells us, in his "Commentaries," that the days of battle were always appointed by their magicians or soothsayers; and that when Ariovistus, one of their kings, led an army of a hundred thousand wandering Germans, to pillage the country of the Gauls, he — Cæsar — being very desirous to subdue these people, rather than plunder them, sent two Roman officers to Ariovistus, to confer with him on the occasion; when the barbarian ordered them to be loaded with chains, and to be kept as victims to be offered to the gods of his country; which inhuman sentence was going to be put in execution, when Cæsar delivered them by beating the German army. The families of these barbarians lived in wretched cottages, at one end of which the father, mother, sisters, brothers, and children lay all huddled together naked on straw, while the other end was reserved for their cattle. These, however, were people who became masters of Rome. Therefore Tacitus, in extolling the manners of the

ancient Germans, is like Horace when he sings the praises of the Getæ; both writers show themselves equally ignorant of their subject, and in fact only make the satire of Rome. Nay, Tacitus, in the midst of his panegyric, acknowledges what everyone knew: that the Germans chose rather to live by rapine, than to be at the pains to cultivate their lands; and that after having plundered their neighbors, they were wont to return home to make merry with their booty. However, they could not always subsist by plunder, for the Roman emperors having at length checked their incursions, and subjected a great part of them, they were constrained to seek a livelihood by labor, which they considered as the greatest hardship.

CHANGES IN THE GLOBE.

Those pleasant and fruitful tracts of land in the western part of Europe, that sweet country watered by the Rhine, the Meuse, the Seine, and the Loire, were all covered by the waters of the ocean for a prodigious number of ages. This truth is physically demonstrated by those deep and horizontal beds of seashells, which are found far inland, and which were deposited there little by little, as the ocean left it.

It is not so certain that those chains of mountains, which run across the Old and New Worlds, were formerly covered by the sea.

1. Because these mountains are many of them ten thousand feet and more higher than the surface of the sea.

2. Because, if there was a time when these mountains did not exist, whence did those springs and rivers of fresh water arise, which are so necessary to the lives of all animals?

3. In supposing these mountains to have been covered with waters, we must contradict the order of nature, and the known laws of gravity and hydrostatics.

4. The bed of the ocean is hollow, and in this cavity we find no chain of mountains stretching from one pole to the other, or from east to west, as on the earth; we cannot therefore, with any degree of truth, conclude that all our globe was for a long time covered with sea, because several parts of it have been formerly overflowed. We must not assert that the sea once divided the Alps and the Cordilleras, because it has covered the lower parts of Gaul, Greece, Germany, Africa, and India: neither should we infer that Mount Taurus was once a navigable flood, because the Philippine and Molucca Islands were once part of the continent. And although it is probable that the mountainous parts of the earth may have undergone many physical and moral changes, as well as the more level parts, yet we do not know what these have been; human nature is entirely new to us.

CHINA.

It is said in the "Book of the Five Kings"— by far the most ancient and authentic of the Chinese — that in the reign of the emperor Yo, the fourth in succession to Fo-hi, there was observed a conjunction of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, and Venus. Now, our astronomers pretend to dispute among themselves concerning the time of this conjunction, which certainly they ought not to do; for even supposing the Chinese to have been mistaken in this celestial observation, the very mistake was glorious. We learn from books, that from time immemorial the Chinese knew that Venus and Mercury revolved round the sun; it would therefore be rejecting the common lights of reason not to perceive that such a knowledge supposes a vast number of preceding ages; and what renders those first writings so peculiarly venerable, and gives them such an acknowledged superiority over all those that relate the origin of other nations is, that we do not meet with any prodigies in them, any predictions, or any of those political impostures, with which the founders of all other states stand charged, unless we will except that of Fo-hi, who is said to have given out that he saw his laws written on the back of a flying serpent. But even this imputation, if true, shows us that writing was known in China before the time of Fo-hi. In fine, it is not for us in this western corner of the globe, to dispute the archives

of a nation who were completely civilized, while we were no more than a herd of savages.

The Chinese invented a cycle, or computation of time, which begins two thousand six hundred and two years before ours. Is it for us then to dispute a chronology which has been unanimously received by a whole people? Is it for us, I say, who have at least threescore different systems for reckoning ancient dates and times, and consequently have not one on which we can depend?

Certain learned chronologists have computed, that from one single family remaining after the deluge, the members of which were constantly employed in the business of procreation, and their children the same, there was begotten in the space of two hundred and fifty years, a far greater number of souls than the whole world at present contains. Surely the Talmud, or the Arabian tales, never broached anything half so absurd! Children are not begotten with the dash of a pen. Examine our colonies; examine the prodigious cluster of islands in Asia, which furnish not a single soul; or the Maldives, the Philippine, and the Molucca Islands, which have not half their proper number of inhabitants.

"The Journal of the Chinese Empire," which is the most authentic and useful work of its kind in the known world, inasmuch as it contains the particulars of all the public wants, and the resources and interests of all the orders of the state: this journal, I say, informs us, that in the year of our vulgar era 1725,

the wife of the emperor Yontohin, whom he had caused to be declared empress, did, according to the ancient custom on such occasions, distribute presents to all the poor women in China, over seventy years of age. The journal reckons in the single province of Canton ninety-eight thousand two hundred and twenty women of seventy years of age who received the bounty on this occasion, forty thousand eight hundred and ninety-three of eighty and upward, and three thousand four hundred and fifty-three who were nearly a hundred. How many women then must there have been, who were not entitled to this donation? We have here above one hundred and forty-two thousand who partook thereof in one province only. These are among the number accounted of no use to the state. How prodigious then must be the population of this country? Only supposing everyone entitled to the bounty throughout the empire to have received the value of ten livres, to what an immense sum must this have amounted!

There is a particular passage in the Third Book of Confucius, which shows how very ancient the use of armed chariots is. In his time, the viceroys, or governors of provinces, were obliged to furnish the emperor, or head of the empire, with a thousand war chariots, drawn by four horses abreast, and a thousand four-wheeled chariots. Homer, who flourished a century after the Chinese philosopher, never speaks of chariots with more than three or four horses

abreast. The Chinese had undoubtedly first begun, and were become perfect masters in the use of four-wheeled chariots; but neither the Greeks in the time of the Trojan war, nor the Chinese, appear to have made use of simple cavalry, and yet it is almost beyond dispute, that the method of fighting on horseback was prior to the use of chariots. We are told that Pharaoh, king of Egypt, had horsemen, and at the same time that he made use of chariots of war.

It is certain that the Chinese were acquainted with the elements of geometry many ages before Euclid; and the emperor did of late years assure Father Parrenin, the most learned and wise of any of the missionaries who had access to the person of that prince, that the emperor Yu had made use of the properties of the right-angled triangle in drawing the geographical plan of a province above three thousand nine hundred and sixty years ago; and Father Parrenin himself quotes a book written above one thousand one hundred years before our vulgar era, which says that the famous demonstration which the western part of the world attributed to Pythagoras, had for a long time been in the number of the most generally known theorems.

The fundamental law in China being to consider the empire as one family, is the reason why the welfare of the community is attended to as the first and principal duty; hence that particular care which the emperor and the several tribunals show in keeping the highways in repair, in making communica-

tions between rivers, in forming canals, and in encouraging the agriculture and manufactories.

We shall set apart another section for treating of the Chinese government. But you are to observe beforehand that the travellers and missionaries have affirmed it to be altogether despotic. But here they judge only from outward appearances; and because they see men fall flat on their faces before another, imagine therefore that they must all be slaves to that person, and that he has absolute power over the lives and fortunes of a hundred millions of men, to whom his sole will must be a law. But this is an erroneous opinion, as we shall show more at large in another place; for the present I shall content myself with observing that, in the first ages of this monarchy, the people were permitted to write down any complaints they might have against the administration on a long table placed for that purpose in an apartment of the palace, and that this custom was received in its full force under the reign of Vengthi, two centuries before our vulgar era; and lastly, that, in times of peace, the representations of the tribunals have always had the force of law.

Confucius begins his book by saying that whoever is destined to rule over a nation ought "to purify that reason which he has received from heaven, in the same manner as we cleanse a mirror when it is soiled"; and also, that he ought "to form himself anew, in order to remodel the people committed

to his care." All he says tends to the same end. He does not pretend to inspiration, or the gift of prophecy. He places all his merit in a constant endeavor to gain the mastery over his passions, and he writes only as a philosopher: accordingly, the Chinese consider him only as a philosopher.

We know very little about materialism, and far less about immaterialism. The Chinese did not know more of it than ourselves, and their learned were satisfied with adoring a Supreme Being. Of this there can be no doubt.

The belief that God and His angels were corporeal was an old metaphysical error; but not to believe that there is any God is an error incompatible with a wise government. It is a contradiction worthy of ourselves to cry out with vehemence against Bayle, for believing that a society of atheists may exist, and at the same time to affirm that the wisest empire in the universe is founded on atheistical principles.

Father Fouquet, the Jesuit, who lived twenty-five years in China, and left it a declared enemy to those of his own order, has told me several times that there were very few of the Chinese philosophers atheists. The same may hold good amongst us.

INDIA.

This country is the only one in the world that produces those spices which the temperance of the natives can do without, and which the epicurism

of the inhabitants of these northern climates have rendered a necessary food.

Pythagoras, the gymnosophist, may alone serve as an incontestable proof that true science was cultivated in India. A master in politics and geometry would not long have remained in a school where they taught nothing but empty words. It is even more than probable that Pythagoras learnt the properties of the right-angled triangle from the Indians, the invention of which was afterward ascribed to him; for it was so well known in China, it might easily be the same in India. It has been frequently said, that he offered a hecatomb of bullocks on the discovery. This was rather an extravagant offering for a philosopher. It is certainly well becoming a wise man to return thanks for a happy thought, to Him who is the giver of all knowledge, as well as of being; but it is more likely that Pythagoras was indebted for this theorem to the gymnosophists, than that he sacrificed a hecatomb of bullocks.

The Indian sages treated morality and philosophy under the veil of fable and allegory long before the time of Pilpay. When they wanted to describe the equity of any one of their kings, they said that "the gods that preside over the several elements having a dispute among themselves, had chosen this king as umpire between them." Their ancient traditions give an account of a judgment much like that of Solomon's. They have a fabulous story exactly the same as that of Jupiter and Amphitryon,

but more ingeniously imagined, for a sage by his superior knowledge discovers which of them is the god, and which the mortal. These traditions show the great antiquity of those allegories which make all extraordinary men to be children of the gods. The Greeks learned all their mythology from the Indians and Egyptians. All these parables formerly included a philosophical meaning; in process of time the meaning was lost, and the fable remained.

Science has greatly degenerated among the Indians: possibly the Tartarian government may have damped the genius of those people, as the Ottoman government has that of the Greeks and the Egyptians, which latter it has in a manner made stupid. The sciences are likewise almost annihilated among the Persians, from the multitude of revolutions that state has undergone. We have seen that they have continued in China in much the same degree of mediocrity as among us in the middle age, and from the same cause which operated with us, namely, a superstitious veneration for antiquity, and the rules and dogmas of schools. Thus the human mind finds something to check its progress in every country.

Some have imagined that the human race was originally of Hindostan, and alleged in defence of their opinion, that the most helpless of all animals would be naturally produced in the mildest of all climates, and in a country where the ground spontaneously produced the most wholesome and nour-

ishing fruits, such as dates and cocoanuts, the latter of which in particular produce with a very little trouble wherewithal to afford him food, raiment, and lodgings; what more can an inhabitant of this peninsula stand in need of? The laborer there works almost naked, and two yards of a thin stuff is more than sufficient for a covering to their women, who are strangers to luxury. The children continue naked as they are born till the age of puberty. Mattresses, feather beds, rich coverlets, and double curtains folding over each other, which we purchase with so much pains and expense, would be insufferable inconveniences to these people, who cannot sleep otherwise than on a mat, in the open air.

Those houses of carnage, which with us are called meat markets, and where so many carcasses are sold to nourish ours, would occasion a plague in the Indian climate. The natives want only light and cooling food, and nature has accordingly bestowed on them, with a liberal hand, vast woods of citron, orange, and fig, palm, and coco-trees, and fields covered with rice. The most robust man in that country could not expend more than twopence a day for his diet, whereas a laboring man with us spends more in eating in one day than would serve a Malabar for a month. These several considerations seem to corroborate the ancient opinion that man is originally a native of a country where nature has provided for all his wants, and left him little or nothing to do himself. But this only

proves that the Indians themselves are indigenous, and not that the several other races of men came from this country. The whites, the blacks, the reds, the Laplanders, the Samoyeds, and the Albinos, or white Moors, are certainly not natives of the same climate. There is as distinguishing a difference between all these kinds as between a horse and a camel. No one, then, but an ignorant and obstinate Brahmin would attempt to say that all mankind is descended from the Indian.

The western nations have always carried their gold and silver into India, increasing the wealth of that country already so rich of itself. Hence it comes that we never see the inhabitants of India, of China, or the banks of the river Ganges, quit their own country to make incursions on other nations, as was the custom with the Arabs, Jews, and Saracens, the Tartars, and even the Romans themselves, who, being situated in the worst part of all Italy, lived in the beginning wholly by war, as they do at present by religion.

It is beyond doubt that the continent of India was of a much larger extent formerly than it is at present. The islands which are scattered between it and the eastern and southern part of the continent were, in the early ages of the world, a part of the earth, as may appear by the shallowness of the sea which separates them, the trees that grow at its bottom, which are exactly the same as those found on the islands and, lastly, those new portions

of land which it frequently leaves dry; all of which shows that this part of the continent has been formerly overflown; and this has happened as a necessary consequence, when the ocean, which always gains in one part what it loses in another, returned from our western shores.

The abominable custom by which the women in India make it a point of honor to burn themselves on the bodies of their husbands, is not yet abolished. The widow of the king of Tanjore burned herself in the year 1735, on the funeral pile of her husband. M. Dumas and M. Dupleix were witnesses of several of these inhuman sacrifices. This is certainly the utmost extent of error and superstition over the perverted mind of man. The most austere dervish is a pusillanimous wretch in comparison with a Malabar woman.

It certainly was not Christianity that flourished in India in the sixth century; it was Mahometanism, which had been introduced there after the conquest of the caliphs, and Aaron Raschid, or Haroun-al-Raschid. This illustrious contemporary of Charlemagne, who conquered Africa, Syria, Persia, and a part of India, sent some Mussulman missionaries to propagate the Mahometan faith among the inhabitants on the borders of the Ganges, those of the isles in the Indian Sea, and even a horde of negroes. From that time there were a great number of missionaries in India. We do not find that the great Haroun converted the Indians by fire and

sword, as Charlemagne did the Saxons; neither do we find that the Indians refused to submit to the yoke of Haroun-al-Raschid, as the Saxons did to that of Charlemagne.

The Indians have always been as remarkable for their mildness as our northern race for their roughness. The softness which is begotten by a climate is not to be overcome, but roughness is to be softened.

In general, the men inhabiting the southeast part of the globe have received from nature gentler manners than we who dwell in the western hemisphere. Their climate naturally disposes them to abstinence from strong liquors and meats, foods which inflame the blood frequently to a degree of madness; and although the natural goodness of their dispositions may have been corrupted by superstition and the repeated irruptions of foreigners, yet all travellers agree that these people have nothing of that petulance and sourness in their nature which has cost so much pains to control in the people of the North.

There being so great a physical difference between us and the natives of India, there must undoubtedly have been as great a moral one. Their vices were in general less violent than ours. Like us, they in vain sought for a remedy against the irregularity of their manners. It was from time immemorial a maxim with them and the Chinese "that the wise man was to come from the West." We Europeans,

on the contrary, said, "that the wise man was to come from the East." All nations have, in all times, stood in need of a wise man.

THE BRAHMINS, THE VEDA, AND THE EZOUR-VEDA.

As India supplies the wants of all the world but is herself dependent for nothing, she must for that very reason have been the most early civilized of any country, and by a like consequence necessarily have had the most ancient form of worship. It is most probable the religion of India was for a long time the same as that of the Chinese government, and consisted only in the pure and simple worship of a Supreme Being, free from any superstition and fanaticism.

This simple religion was formed by the first Brahmins, such as was established in China by the first kings of that country. These Brahmins, who at that time governed India, were the peaceable rulers of a mild and discerning people, and were at the same time the chiefs of religion. That religion must be simple and rational, because its chiefs have no occasion for errors to procure them obedience. It is so natural to believe in one only God, and to adore Him, and to feel from the very soul that He must be just; that where a ruler declares these truths, the faith of the people prevent his words. It requires some time to establish arbitrary laws, but a single instant is sufficient to teach a number of people assembled to believe that there

is a God, and to hearken to the dictates of their own hearts.

The first Brahmins then, being at once kings and pontiffs, could not establish religion but on the foundation of universal reason; but it is not so in those countries where the pontifical and regal dignity are separate. In this case the religious functions, which belong originally to the head of families, form a distinct profession. The service of God becomes a trade, and to make this worth carrying on, recourse must sometimes be had to delusions and impostures.

Religion, then, degenerated among the Brahmins as soon as they ceased to be sovereigns.

The Brahmins had ceased to rule in India long before the time of Alexander the Great; but the tribe, or caste, as it was called, still held the chief rank, as it continues to do to this day; and it was from this tribe that they took those sages, true or false, which the Greeks called Gymnosophists. It cannot be denied that, even in their decline, they gave many proofs of that kind of virtue which is compatible with the illusions of fanaticism. They continued to acknowledge one supreme God, in the midst of the multitude of subordinate deities, which popular superstition adopted in all countries in the world. Strabo expressly says that, in the main, the Brahmins acknowledge only one God. In this they resemble Confucius, Orpheus, Socrates, Plato, Marcus Aurelius, Epictetus, all the sages

and all the hierophants, or those who had the care of the sacred mysteries. The seven years of probationership among the Brahmins, and the silence enjoined during that term, were still in force in the time of Strabo. The celibacy to be observed during this novitiate, the abstaining from the flesh of domestic animals, were laws which they never transgressed, and which still subsist among them. They held one God, the creator, preserver, and avenger, and believed the fall and degeneracy of man; and this opinion is everywhere to be met with among the people of antiquity. *Aurea sata est ætas* is the device of all nations.

Apuleius, Quintus Curtius, Clemens Alexandrinus, Philostratus, Porphyry, and Palladio all agree in their encomiums on the extreme temperance and frugality of the Brahmins, their life of retirement and penance, their vows of poverty, and the contempt they show for all the vanities of this world. St. Ambrose makes no scruple to prefer their manners to those of the Christians of his time; though perhaps this may be one of those allowable exaggerations meant to correct the irregularities of his fellow citizens; and this panegyric on the Brahmins might be intended as salutary satire on the monks; and had St. Ambrose lived in India, he would probably have praised the monks, in order to put the Brahmins to the blush. However, we know, from a multitude of testimonies, that these

men were everywhere in high reputation, on account of the sanctity of their lives.

That belief of one God only, for which they are so esteemed by all philosophers, continues with them, in the midst of the numberless idols with which their country abounds, and the extravagant superstition of the common people.

A French poet says, in one of his epistles, of which every line is almost a falsehood:

"L'Inde ajourd'hui voit l'orgueilleux brachmane,
Déifier brutalement zélé,
Le diable même en bronze ciselé."

"——— India beholds
Her Brahmin, vain of fancied piety,
Prostrate before his brazen deity,
With brutal zeal e'en Satan's name invoke."

But certainly men who do not believe in a devil will hardly invoke that devil. Such absurd reproaches are unsufferable. The devil was never adored in any one country in the world. The Manichæans themselves never paid any worship to the evil spirit, nor is it anywhere enjoined in the religion of Zoroaster. It is high time for us to lay aside the mean custom of calumniating all sects, and abusing all nations but our own.

I have in my hands a translation of one of the most ancient manuscripts in the world. I do not mean the *"Veda,"* which is so much spoken of in India, and which has not hitherto been communicated to any of our European literati. It is the *"Ezour-veda,"* an ancient commentary, composed

by Chumontou on this "*Veda,*" which the Brahmins pretended to be the most holy of all books, and to have been delivered by God Himself to man. This commentary has been digested by a very learned Brahmin, who has done many great services to our India Company, and who translated it himself out of the holy tongue into French.[1]

In the "*Ezour-veda,*" or commentary, Chumontou strongly attacks idolatry. He first quotes the words of the "*Veda*" itself:

"The Supreme Being has created all things, both animate and inanimate. There have been four different ages of the world; everything perished at the end of each age. The whole world was drowned, and a deluge is the passage from one age to another, etc.

"When God existed alone, and no other being existed with him, he formed the design of creating the world. He first created time, and then the water and the earth, and from the mixture of the five elements, namely, earth, water, fire, light, and air, he formed the different bodies, and gave them the earth as their basis. He made the globe we inhabit oval, or in the shape of an egg. In the midst of the earth is the highest of all mountains, whose name is Meron, i. e. Imaus. The first man created by God was called Adimo, his wife's name was Procriti. Of Adimo was born Brama,

[1] I have made a present of this MS. to the king's library, where any one may have a sight of it.

who was the lawgiver of nations, and the father of the Brahmins."

How many curious things are here in a few words! The first that presents itself to us is this important truth: that God is the creator of the world; then follows the primitive source of the old fable of the four ages: the golden, the silver, the brazen, and the iron. All the principles of ancient divinity are included in the "*Veda*." We there find the Deucalion deluge, which is only an emblem of the prodigious trouble that men found in those times to drain the ground, which the negligence of their forefathers had suffered to lie under water. The quotations in this "*Veda*," or holy manuscript are all of them surprising. We there find the following admirable sentence, word for word:

"God never created sin, nor can he be the author thereof. God, who is wisdom and holiness, created only virtue."

The following is one of the most singular passages in the "*Veda:*"

"When the first man came from the hand of God, he said to him: 'There will be different occupations on the earth; every man will not be fit to exercise all; how are we to distinguish such as are proper for each?' God answered him: 'Those who are born with a greater knowledge of, and inclination for, virtue than the rest, shall be Brahmins. Those who partake the most of *rosogoun*,

i. e. ambition, shall be warriors; those who partake the most of *tomogun,* i. e. avarice, shall be merchants, and those who partake the most of *comogun,* i. e. bodily strength, and a limited understanding, shall be employed in servile labors.'"

In these words we have the true origin of the four castes in India, or rather of the four conditions of human society; for, indeed, on what can the inequality of these conditions be founded but on an inequality of talents? The "*Veda*" goes on to say:

"The Supreme Being has neither body nor figure;" and the "*Ezour-veda*" adds, "All such who give the Deity hands or feet, are fools or madmen." Chumontou then quotes these words of the "*Veda:*"

"When God took all things from nothing, he created a distinct individual of each species, willing that it should contain its own germ within itself, in order to produce its like. He is the sovereign and lord of all things. The sun is but a body without life and knowledge, and is, in the hands of God, like a candle in the hands of a man."

After this, the author of the commentary, as he is attacking the opinion of the modern Brahmins, who admit several incarnations in the gods, Brahma and Vishnu, expresses himself thus:

"Tell me, blind and senseless man, who were Kochipo and Odite, of whom thou sayest thy god was born? Were they not mortals like us? Shall

then that God, who is pure in his nature, and eternal in his essence, stoop to lose himself in the embraces of a woman, in order to take a human shape? Dost thou not blush to represent that God to us, in the posture of a suppliant before one of his creatures? Hast thou lost thy understanding, or art thou come to that height of impiety as not to blush at making the Divine Being act the part of an impostor and a liar?—— Cease then to deceive mankind; and on this condition, and this only, I will explain to thee the *'Veda'*; for if thou remainest in the same sentiments, thou art incapable of understanding it, and it would be profanation to attempt to teach it thee."

In the third book of this commentary, the author refutes the fable of the incarnation of the god, Brahma, invented by the modern Brahmins, who pretend he appeared in India under the name of Kopilo, that is to say, the Penitent, and that he chose to be born of Dehobuti, the wife of a man in good circumstances, whose name was Kordomo.

"If it is true," says the commentator, "that Brahma was born on earth, how came he eternal? Would he, who is supremely happy, and in whom alone is our happiness, have submitted to suffer all the pains and inconveniences of an infant, etc."

After this there follows a description of hell, exactly like that which the Egyptians and Greeks have given us of Tartarus. "What must we do to avoid hell?" "We must love God," replies the

commentator Chomontou; "we must do what is ordered in the *'Veda,'* and in the manner there prescribed. There are four ways of loving God. The first is, to love him for his own sake, and without any self view; the second is, to love him through interest; the third is, to love him only in those moments when our passions are predominant; and the fourth is, to love him only for the sake of obtaining the object of those passions; and this last way does not deserve the name of love."

This is the summary of the most remarkable passages in the *"Veda,"* a book hitherto unknown in Europe, and in almost all Asia.

The Brahmins have degenerated more and more. The *"Cormoredam,"* which is their ritual, is a collection of superstitious ceremonies which would make anyone laugh who is not born on the borders of the Ganges or Indus; or in other words, anyone who, not being a philosopher, is surprised at the follies of other nations, and not at those of his own country. As soon as an infant is born, it must have the word *oum* pronounced over it, or it will be forever unhappy. Its tongue must then be rubbed with consecrated meal. Certain prayers are to be said over it, and at each prayer, the name of some god is to be pronounced. The third day of the new moon the child is to be laid in the open air, with its head turned toward the north.

The detail of every trifling circumstance is immense. The whole is a collection of all the

follies, wherewith the study of judicial astrology can have inspired the brains of an ingenious but extravagant, or designing body of learned men. The whole life of a Brahmin is taken up with these ceremonious triflings. They have a particular ceremony for every day of the year. Mankind seems to have become weak and effeminate in India, in proportion as they have been subjected; and there is great appearance, that after each conquest they were loaded with new ceremonies, and new penances. Sezac, Madies, the Assyrians, the Persians, Alexander, the Arabians, the Tartars, and in our own days Shah Nadir, by their successive incursions and ravages in this beautiful country, have formed a nation of devotees of those whom nature had not formed for war.

Their pagodas, or temples, were never so rich as in times of the greatest misery and humiliation. Each of these pagodas has a considerable revenue belonging to it, which is further increased by the offerings of the devout. When a rajah, or Indian nobleman, passes a pagoda, he immediately alights from his horse, his camel, his elephant, or his palanquin, and walks on foot till he is out of the district of that pagoda.

The ancient commentary on the *"Veda,"* from which I have given the above extracts, appears to me to have been written before the time of Alexander's conquests in India, for we meet with none of those names which the Greek conquerors

gave to the rivers, towns, and provinces of that country. India itself is called Zomboudipo; Mount Imaus, Meron; and the Ganges, Zenoubi. These ancient names are at present known only to those learned in the holy language.

The ancient purity of the religion of the first Brahmins subsists no longer, except among a few of their philosophers, and these do not give themselves the trouble of instructing a people who will not receive instruction, and who indeed deserve it not. They would even run some hazard in attempting to undeceive them; the ignorant Brahmins would set up a cry of heresy and impiety, in which they would be joined by the women, who are devoted to the service of their pagodas, and fond, to a degree of enthusiasm, of all the little superstitious ceremonies employed therein. Whoever attempts to teach his fellow citizens reason, is sure of being persecuted for his pains, unless he has the arm of power on his side; and we generally find that those who use the arm of power, rivet the chains of ignorance instead of breaking them.

The Mahometan religion is the only one that has made any great progress in India, especially among the higher rank of people: the reason is, that it is the religion of the sovereign, and that it teaches the worship of one God, agreeable to the ancient doctrine of the Brahmins. Christianity has not met with the same success in this country, notwithstanding the evident holiness of its doctrine, and

the numerous settlements of the Portuguese, French, English, Dutch, and Danes: and indeed this mixture of nations may have been the chief hindrance to the progress of our holy faith: for as they all hate each other, and frequently are at war among themselves in this country, it has made the doctrine they teach despised. Moreover, the Indians are disgusted with our customs, and scandalized to see us drink wine, and eat meats, which they hold in abhorrence. The conformation of our organs of speech, which occasions us to pronounce the Asiatic languages so badly, is another almost insurmountable obstacle; but the greatest is the difference of opinion which divides our missionaries. Those of the Catholic communion oppose those of the Church of England, these latter the Lutherans, who are again opposed by the Calvinists; thus, everyone contradicting another, and all pretending to publish the voice of truth, and mutually charging each other with falsehood, confound a simple and peaceable people, who view, with astonishment, a set of furious men crowding into their country from the western extremities of the earth, to cut each others' throats on the borders of the Ganges.

It must be confessed that we have had some missionaries in that part of the world, who have commanded respect by their piety, and the gentleness of their manners, and who cannot be accused of having exaggerated their labors or their successes. But all those who have been sent from Europe

to make converts in Asia, have not been men of understanding and virtue. The famous Nelcamp, author of the "History of the Tranquebar Mission," acknowledges that "the Portuguese filled the seminary of Goa with malefactors who had been condemned to banishment, who being afterward made missionaries, could not even in that character forget their old trade." Our holy religion has made very little progress in these parts; and none at all in the dominions immediately subject to the great mogul. Mahometanism and the religion of Brahma continue to divide this vast continent between them.

MAHOMET.

There never was a conqueror or legislator whose life has been written with greater authenticity, or handed down to us with a more circumstantial exactness, than that of Mahomet, by those writers who were his contemporaries. If we divest it of those miracles, with a belief of which the people of that part of the world were infatuated, we shall have an account agreeable to known truths in all its parts. He was born at Mecca, in Arabia Petræa, in April, 579, according to our vulgar era. His father's name was Abdallah, that of his mother, Aminah. It is beyond contradiction that his family was one of the most considerable of its tribe, which was that of Koreish. But the genealogy which makes him to be descended in a right line from Abraham, appears to be one of those fables invented by the

natural desire which mankind have to impose on one another.

The manners and superstitions of the primitive ages, of which we have already taken a review, were still preserved in Arabia, as will appear by the vow which Abd-el-Moottalib, the grandfather of Mahomet, made to offer one of his children in sacrifice. A priestess of the temple of Mecca, ordered him to redeem his son by offering a certain number of camels, which the exaggeration common among the Arabians makes to amount to a hundred. This priestess was dedicated to the service of a star, which is supposed to have been Sirius, or the dog-star, for each tribe had its particular star or planet; they also paid divine honors to genii and demigods, but still acknowledged a superior deity; and in this respect almost all nations seem to be agreed.

Abd-el-Moottalib is said to have lived to the age of one hundred and ten; his grandson, Mahomet, carried arms when he was only fourteen years old, in a war on the confines of Syria; but being afterward reduced to very low circumstances, one of his uncles placed him as factor to a widow woman called Khadijah, who exercised the profession of a merchant; at this time he was twenty-five years of age. This widow soon after took her young factor for her husband, and Mahomet's uncle, who brought about this match, gave his nephew twelve ounces of gold, or nearly nine hundred francs of

our money, which was the whole patrimony of him who was one day to change the face of the most extensive and beautiful country in the world. Mahomet lived in obscurity with his mistress, now his wife, to the age of forty.

Mahomet resolved within himself to root out of his country the doctrine of the Sabæans, which consists in a medley worship of the true God and of the stars. Judaism, which is held in abhorrence by the nations, and which at that time began to make a considerable progress in Asia, and lastly, Christianity, which he knew only by the irregularities and ill conduct of the several sects, spread over the face of his country; he designed to restore the simple worship of Abraham, whose descendant he pretended to be, and to bring all mankind to believe in the only God; a tenet which he thought grievously changed and mutilated in all religions. This he in effect declares himself in the third sura or chapter of his Koran where he thus expresses himself: "God knows, and ye do not know. Abraham was neither Jew nor Christian, but a believer of the true God. He had given his heart to God, and was not of the number of idolaters."

It is probable that Mahomet, like all enthusiasts, being forcibly struck with his own ideas, uttered them at first as he felt them; these growing afterward more strong by being often repeated, he deceived himself while he was deceiving others; and at length he had recourse to imposture to sup-

port a doctrine which he thought right. He began by establishing his credit as a prophet with those of his own family, which was perhaps the most difficult part of his undertaking. His wife, and young Ali, the husband of his daughter Fatimah, were his first disciples.

He quickly found that his countrymen were incensed against him, on account of the innovations he wanted to introduce; but this was no more than what he had reason to expect. His answer to the threats of the Koreishites, at once paints the character of the man, and shows the method of expression used by those of his nation: "Though ye were to come against me with the sun in one hand and the moon in the other, I would not depart from my purpose."

He had raised only sixteen disciples, four of whom were women, when he was obliged to make them quit Mecca, on account of the persecution raised against them; and sent them to preach his religion in Ethiopia. He boldly remained behind, where he braved all his enemies, and continued making new converts, whom he sent into Ethiopia, to the number of a hundred. But that which gave the greatest weight to his new religion, was the conversion of Omar, who, from having been a long time his persecutor, became his disciple. This Omar, who was afterward a great conqueror, standing up in the midst of a numerous assembly, cried out with a loud voice: "I attest that there is but

one God, that he has neither companion nor equal, and that Mahomet is his servant and prophet."

Mahomet undoubtedly was neither ignorant nor illiterate, as some have pretended. He must, on the contrary, have been a person of great learning for one of his nation, and the times he lived in, since we have some medical aphorisms of his; and we know that he corrected the Arabian calendar, as Cæsar did that of the Romans. He was a poet, as appears by his Koran, the last verses of every chapter being in rhyme, and the rest in measured prose; and this air of poetry contributed not a little to render his book respectable; for the Arabians held poetry in the highest esteem, and wherever there happened to be a good poet in any one of their tribes, the other tribes sent a kind of ambassador, with compliments of congratulation to that which had produced an author, whom they looked on as inspired, and a useful member. The best productions of this kind were posted in the temple of Mecca, where the second chapter of Mahomet's Koran was also placed, which begins thus: "There is no room for doubt; this is the knowledge of the righteous, and of those who believe in the holy mysteries, who pray at the proper times, who give with liberality, etc." One Abid, who at that time bore the palm as the first poet in Mecca, tore down his own verses which had been hung up in the temple, and from an admirer became a disciple of Mahomet. These are manners, customs, and

facts totally different from any amongst us; and may serve to show us what an amazing variety of coloring is in the great picture of nature, and how cautious we should be not to judge of the manners and customs of other nations by those of our own.

Notwithstanding the strong conformity of manners between the Ishmaelites and the ancient Hebrews, as to their enthusiasm and thirst after plunder, yet the former were greatly superior to the latter in courage, generosity, and magnanimity. Their history, true and fabulous, before the time of Mahomet, abounds with examples of friendship, equal to any in the Grecian fables of Pylades and Orestes, Theseus and Pirithous. The history of the Barmecides is one continued tale of unexampled generosity, which transports the soul with admiration in the recital. These instances characterize a nation. On the contrary, we do not meet with one generous action in all the Hebrew annals. They were strangers to hospitality, generosity, and clemency. Their greatest happiness consisted, and still does, in exercising the most rapacious usury toward strangers; and this spirit of usury, which is the foundation of all baseness, is ingrafted in their hearts, which is the perpetual object of the figures which may employ us in that kind of eloquence peculiar to themselves. They glory in laying waste, with fire and sword, those defenceless towns or villages of which they can make themselves the masters. They put to death all the old men

and children, reserving only young maidens who are marriageable. They assassinate their masters when they are slaves, and never listen to mercy when they are conquerors; in a word, they are enemies of human kind. We find not the least footsteps of politeness, knowledge, or any one of the useful or agreeable arts among this nest of barbarians. But after the second age of the Hegira, the Arabians became the preceptors of Europe in the arts and sciences, nothwithstanding that their religion seems to be the professed foe of all polite accomplishments.

This division sowed the first seeds of that great schism, which at present separates the two sects of Omar and Ali, the Sunnites and the Shiahs, the Turks and the modern Persians.

The Arabians carried their superstitious respect for the Koran so far as to believe that the original was written in heaven. The grand dispute was, whether this book was written from all eternity, or only in the time of Mahomet. The most devout espoused the opinion of its being eternal.

It is well worthy of observation that Omar indulged the Jews and Christians, who inhabited Jerusalem, with full liberty of conscience.

Those who are fond of antiquity, and delight in comparing the geniuses of different nations, will be pleased to see the great resemblance between the manners and customs in the time of Mahomet, Abubeker, and Omar, and those of which Homer

has given us so faithful a portrait. They will here behold the chiefs of one party defying those of the opposite party to single combat, and stepping forth from their respective ranks to decide the fate of the day in the presence of both armies, who remain inactive spectators of the contest, while the combatants mutually interrogate each other, return defiance for defiance, and invoke the aid of the gods before they begin the fight. There were several of these single combats fought at the siege of Damascus.

It is evident that the combat of the Amazons, mentioned by Homer and Herodotus, was not founded on fabulous reports, for the women of the tribe of Himear in Arabia Felix were warriors, and fought in the armies of Abubeker and Omar. However, we are not to believe that there was a nation of Amazons, who lived without having any intercourse with men. But in those ages and countries where everyone lived a rude and pastoral life, it is not to be wondered at that women who were bred up as hardy as the men, should sometimes wield the sword as well as them. We have a particular instance in the siege of Damascus of one of these women of the tribe of Himear, who shot the governor of the city dead with an arrow, to avenge the loss of her husband, who was killed by her side.

This instance may serve to justify Ariosto and Tasso, who introduce such famous warriors in their poems.

History affords us several examples of the like nature in the time of knight-errantry. These customs, which were at all times rare, appear to us at present as wholly incredible, especially since the invention of artillery, which no longer gives room for the combatant to avail himself of his valor, skill, and agility; and when armies have become a kind of regular machine, that move, as it were, by springs.

The speeches of the Arabian heroes at the head of their armies in single combat, or in ratifying a truce, are entirely in that natural taste which we find in Homer, but incomparably more enthusiastic and sublime.

In the eleventh year of the Hegira, in a battle fought between the army of the emperor Heraclius, and that of the Saracens, the Mahometan general, Derar, being taken prisoner, and the Mussulman forces being struck with a panic at the news, one of their captains, whose name was Rafi, riding up to them, cried out: "What matters it if Derar is taken prisoner or killed? God yet lives and looks upon you; fight on, countrymen." With this short and emphatic speech, he rallied them, and gained the victory.

Another cries out: "Yonder is heaven, fight the cause of God, and he will give you the dominion of the earth."

The Mahometan general, Caled, takes the daughter of the emperor Heraclius prisoner in

Damascus, and sends her home without ransom; when he is asked the reason for acting thus, he replies: "Because I hope soon to take the father and daughter together in Constantinople."

When the caliph Moaweeyah on his deathbed, in the year of the Hegira, 60, secured the succession, which till then had been elective, to his son Yezeed, he expressed himself thus: "Great God! if I have settled my son on the throne of the caliphs, from a belief that he was worthy of it, I beseech thee to confirm him on the same; but if I have only acted from the dictates of a father's fondness, I in like manner beseech thee to drive him headlong from it."

Everything that happened in those times spoke the character of a nation and people superior to all others.

Algebra was one of the inventions of the Arabians. The word itself shows it to be from the Arabian *Algarubat,* unless we would rather have it derived from the name of the famous Arabian, Geber, who was the first who taught this art in the eighth century, according to the Christian era.

THE KORAN AND THE MAHOMETAN LAW.

We have already seen what were the manners of Mahomet and his countrymen, by whom a great part of the world underwent so surprising and quick a revolution. It now remains to give a faithful description of their religion.

We have long entertained a mistaken notion that

the great progress of the Mahometan religion was wholly owing to the indulgence it gives to the sensual passions; but we do not reflect that all the ancient religions of the East allowed a plurality of wives; Mahomet reduced the number to four, which before his time was not limited at all.

It has been a matter of great dispute among politicians, whether polygamy is really beneficial to society and propagation. The eastern practice seems to have decided this question pretty clearly in the affirmative; and nature appears to give her testimony in favor of this decision, with respect to almost every species of the animal creation, where there is but one male to several females. The time lost in breeding, in bringing forth, and in the other disorders incident to the female sex, seems to call for some opportunities of reparation. The women in hot countries are too soon past their bloom, and cease to bear children. The head of a family, who places his glory and prosperity in the number of his children, has an absolute necessity for another woman to supply the place of a wife who is no longer in a condition to answer the purpose of marriage. Our laws in the West seem to be more favorable to the women; those of the East to the men and to the government. There is not one object of legislature, but which may be made the subject of dispute. But as we have not room here for entering into a dissertation, we shall confine ourselves to the

description of men and manners, without passing judgment on them.

We every day hear people exclaiming against the sensual paradise of Mahomet; but the ancients knew no other. Hercules had Hebe given him to wife in heaven, as a reward for his labors on earth. Heroes were regaled with nectar at the tables of the gods; and as man was supposed to rise again after death, with all his senses about him, it was likewise very natural to suppose that he would taste whether in a garden, or in any other mansion, those pleasures which were the objects of the senses that he still retained. And this belief was likewise that of the fathers of the Church in the second and third centuries. St. Justin, in the second part of his dialogues, expressly says, that "Jerusalem shall be enlarged and beautified to receive the saints who will there enjoy the highest pleasures, during a thousand years."

A hundred writers copying after one, tell us, that the Koran was composed by a Nestorian monk. Some have given this monk the name of Sergius; others call him Boheira. But it is evident that the chapters of the Koran were written occasionally by Mahomet during his several journeys and military expeditions. Had he this monk always at his elbow?

The Koran is not a historical book, in which the author has aimed at an imitation of the sacred writings of the Hebrews, and of our Holy Gospels;

neither is it a book containing purely a body of laws, like those of Deuteronomy and Leviticus; nor is it a collection of psalms and spiritual songs, nor a prophetic vision and allegory, like the Apocalypse: It is a mixture of all these several kinds of writing; a body of homilies, in which we meet with some historical facts, some visions, some revelations, and some laws, both civil and religious.

The Koran has become the code of jurisprudence, as well as the canonical law, with all the Mahometan nations.

The commentators on the Koran always make a distinction between the positive and the allegorical sense of the several passages in that book; that is, between the letter and the spirit. The Arabian genius is equally discernible in the comment as in the text. One of the most approved commentators has this expression to denote the letter and the spirit: "The Koran sometimes wears the face of a man, and sometimes that of a beast."

There is one thing that will always surprise the generality of readers, namely: that there is nothing new in the law of Mahomet, save only the tenet, that Mahomet is the prophet of God.

In the first place, the unity of a Supreme Being, the creator and preserver of the universe, is a doctrine of a very ancient date. The rewards and punishments of a future state, the belief of a heaven and a hell, had long been received among the Chinese, the Indians, the Persians, the Greeks, the

Romans, and the Jews, and particularly the Christians, whose holy religion seemed to sanctify this doctrine.

The Koran acknowledges the influence of angels, and genii or guardian spirits; that of a resurrection, and last judgment, was obviously taken from the Jewish Talmud and the doctrine of the Christians. The thousand years which, according to Mahomet, God will employ in judging mankind, and the manner of that judgment, are adventitious circumstances, which in no wise hinder this notion from being entirely borrowed. The sharp point over which those who arise at the last day are to pass, and from which the damned are to fall headlong down to hell, is taken from the allegorical doctrine of the Magi.

It was from these very Magi, and their "*Jannat*," that Mahomet first took his ideas of a paradise or garden, where men, after rising again to life, with all their faculties in perfection, taste by their senses, all those pleasures which are peculiar to their nature, and which without those senses would be useless and of no effect. Here he learnt his notions of the houris, or those heavenly women, who are to be the portion of the blest, and which the Magi in their "*Sadder*" called *hourani*. Mahomet does not exclude women from his paradise, as we have so often heard reported. This is only raillery without foundation, such as every nation casts on another. He promises his followers that they shall

dwell in a delicious garden, which he calls paradise; but the height of their felicity is to consist with the beatific vision and intercourse with the supreme of all beings.

The doctrine of fatality, and absolute predestination, which seems in our days to be the peculiar characteristic of the Mahometan faith, was the opinion of all the ancients, and prevails as much in the " Iliad " as in the Koran.

With regard to legal ordinances, such as circumcision, washing, prayers, and the pilgrimage to Mecca, Mahomet in these only conformed himself to the established customs of his time. Circumcision had been a practice from time immemorial among the Arabians, the ancient Egyptians, the people of Colchis, and the Jews. Ablution, or washing, had always been recommended in the East, as an emblem of the purity of the soul.

Prayer is enjoined by every religion; that of Mahomet obliges its followers to pray five times a day; this was a great restraint, but a restraint highly laudable and respectable. Would anyone dare to complain that the creature was obliged to worship his creator five times a day?

As to the pilgrimage to Mecca, and the ceremonies to be practised in the Kaaba, and on the black stone, almost everyone knows that this had been a favorite piece of devotion among the Arabians for many ages. The Kaaba was held to be the most ancient temple in the world; and although no less

than three hundred idols were kept therein at that time, the holiness of the place was derived principally from the black stone, which was said to have been the tombstone of Ishmael. Therefore Mahomet, in order to ingratiate himself with his countrymen, made it a fundamental precept of his religion, that every believer should visit this precious monument at least once in his life.

Fasting was a religious rite observed by almost every nation, particularly by the Jews and Christians. Mahomet made it extremely strict, by extending it to a whole lunar month, or twenty-eight days, during which time it was not permitted to taste even a drop of water, or to smoke till after sunset, and the lunar month frequently falling in the midst of summer, this ceremony was found so very severe, that they were at length obliged to mitigate it, especially in time of war.

All religions recommend the giving of alms; the Mahometan is the only one that enjoins it as a lawful precept, that may not on any account be dispensed with. The Koran commands everyone to set apart two and a half per cent. of his income for this purpose, either in money or goods.

In all the positive ordinances of Mahomet, we find nothing but what was founded on the most established customs, and consecrated by long antiquity. In the negative precepts, such as those which enjoin the abstaining from any particular practice, that of not drinking wine is the only one that is new

and peculiar to this religion. This prohibition, of which the Mussulmans so much complain, and with the observance of which they frequently dispense, especially in cold climates, was given in a fiery climate, where the drinking of wine made men easily liable to the loss of their health and reason. But furthermore, it was no new thing for persons devoted to the service of God, to abstain from this liquor. Several societies of priests in Egypt and Syria, and the Nazarenes and Rechabites among the Jews, did voluntarily impose this mortification on themselves.

There was nothing in this injunction that could disgust the Arabians; and Mahomet could not possibly foresee that it would one day become insupportable to his followers in the frozen regions of Thrace, Macedonia, Bosnia, and Servia. He never imagined that his countrymen would one day penetrate into the heart of France, and Turks of his religion wave their colors on the ramparts of Vienna.

The same may be said of the prohibition of eating pork, blood, or the flesh of beasts dying of any disease; these are the laws of health. The flesh of swine in particular is a very unwholesome food in those hot countries, as well as in Palestine, which lies in their neighborhood. When the Mahometan religion spread itself into colder climates, this abstinence ceased to be reasonable; but nevertheless did not cease to be in force.

The prohibiting of all games of chance, is perhaps

the only law of which no example is to be found in any other religion. It resembles the rule of a convent, rather than a general law to be observed by a whole nation. Mahomet seems to have formed a people only to pray, to get children, and to fight.

His laws, which were all — except that of polygamy — so severe, and the plainness and simplicity of his doctrine, soon gained his religion respect and credit. And above all, the tenet of the unity, delivered without mystery, and suited to the most ordinary capacity, brought a multitude of nations to embrace his faith, even from the negroes on the coast of Africa, and those who inhabit the islands in the Indian Ocean.

This religion is called Islamism, which signifies resignation to the will of God; and this appellation was of itself sufficient to make a number of proselytes; and we may observe that Islamism has not established itself throughout one-half of our hemisphere by dint of arms only, but by enthusiasm, the art of persuasion, and, above all, by the example of the conquerors themselves, which always has the most powerful effect on the conquered. Mahomet when he first took up arms in Arabia against his countrymen, who opposed his imposture, put to death, without mercy, all those who could not embrace his religion. He was not at that time sufficiently powerful to let those live who might afterward subvert his infant faith. But as soon as he had become settled in Arabia, by dint of preaching and

the sword, his followers, when they made excursions beyond their own country, which till then they had never quitted, did not compel the strangers they conquered to become Mussulmans, but left it to their option either to profess the Mahometan religion, or pay a tribute. They were desirous of plunder, conquest, and making slaves; but not of obliging those slaves to change their belief. When they were at length driven out of Asia by the Turks and Tartars, they made proselytes even of their conquerors; and the wild hordes of Tartars became a great Mahometan nation. By this we may see that they did in fact convert more people than they conquered.

The little I have here said is a downright contradiction to what has been advanced by a number of our historians and declaimers, and even to our own generally received opinions; but nevertheless, the truth should prevail against error or prejudice, and ought never to be violated by those who write history. Although the Mussulman law-giver, who was a powerful and terrible conqueror, established his tenets by his courage, and the success of his arms, yet his religion became in time a religion of indulgence and toleration. On the other hand, the divine institutor of Christianity, who Himself lived an example of humility and peace, taught us to pardon those who had offended us; and yet we see His holy religion has, by the mad zeal of its followers, become the most insupportable of any.

The Mahometans, like us, have had their sects and scholastic disputes; but there is no truth in what is pretended of their having seventy-three different sects amongst them. This is an idle story. They pretended that the Magi had seventy; the Jews seventy-one; the Christians seventy-two; and that the Mussulmans, as being the most perfect believers, must necessarily have seventy-three. A strange kind of perfection, and truly worthy the imagination of the schoolmen of all countries.

The different explanations of the Koran among the Mahometans gave rise to two principal sects, called the orthodox and the heretic. The orthodox were the Sunnites, that is to say, the traditionists, or those doctors who were attached to the most ancient traditions which serve as a supplement to the Koran. These are again divided into four sects, one of which still prevails in Constantinople; another in Africa; and the rest in Tartary and Arabia; and are all looked on as equally necessary to salvation.

The heretics are those who deny the doctrine of absolute predestination, or who differ from the Sunnites in some points in the schools. Mahometanism has had its Pelagians, its Scotists, its Thomists, its Molinists, and its Jansenists. But yet all these sects have not produced more revolutions than among us. For a sect to occasion any great commotions in a state, it must attack the foundations of the prevailing sect, accuse it of impiety, and of being

an enemy to God and men; and must set up a certain standard of opposition that may easily be perceived and understood by the common people, and under which they may, without much inquiry, raise themselves. Such was the sect of Ali, which set itself up for a rival to that of Omar; but this grand schism was not established till about the sixth century, and reasons of state had a much greater share in this revolution than those of religion.

CHRISTIANITY.

Under Diocletian the Christians did not only enjoy that liberty of conscience, and free exercise of their religion, in which the Roman state always indulged all its subjects; but they likewise were admitted to a share in the rights and privileges of Roman citizens. Several Christians were governors of provinces; and Eusebius mentions two by name: Dorotheus and Gorgonius, who were officers of the palace, and on whom Diocletian bestowed many favors. Therefore whatever our pulpit orators have said or written against this emperor, is the effect of ignorance. So far from being a persecutor of the Christians, he raised them to such a pitch of power, that it was no longer in his power to suppress them.

THE POPES.

There are but three ways of bringing mankind under subjection, namely, by civilizing them, by giving them certain laws and regulations for their

observance; by employing religion in support of these laws; and lastly, by knocking one half of the nation on the head, in order to govern the other half with the more ease. I do not know of a fourth; and all these three require a chain of favorable circumstances. We must go back to the earliest ages of antiquity to find instance of the first; and these are very doubtful. Charlemagne, Clovis, Theodoric, Alboin, and Alaric, made use of the last; and the second has been adopted by the popes.

The pope had originally no other power in Rome than St. Augustine would have had in the little town of Hippona. And even supposing St. Peter himself to have lived in Rome, as is pretended, because one of his epistles is dated from Babylon, nay, even had he been bishop of Rome, at a time when there was certainly no particular see existing, his residence in Rome could not have given him any title to the throne of the Cæsars; and we have seen that the bishops of Rome, for the space of seven hundred years, looked on themselves in no other light than that of servants.

THE ANOINTING OF KING PEPIN.

This was an imitation of an ancient Jewish ceremony. Samuel poured oil on the head of Saul. The kings of Lombardy were thus consecrated; and even the dukes of Benevento have adopted this custom. Oil was used in the installation of bishops; and they thought to stamp a kind of religious character on

the temporal crown, by annexing to it an ecclesiastical ceremony. A king of the Goths, named Wamba, was anointed in Spain with the holy oil, in the year 674. But when the Moors became masters of that country, they soon abolished this ceremony, and the Spaniards have not revived it since.

Pepin therefore was not the first anointed sovereign in Europe, so often read of him. He had already received this holy unction from the hands of the English monk, Boniface, who was a missionary in Germany, and bishop of Mentz; and who having been a long time on his travels in Lombardy, consecrated him after the fashion of that country.

Let us not forget to observe in this place, that this Boniface had been created bishop of Mentz, by Carloman, brother to the usurper Pepin, without the concurrence of the pope; nor had the court of Rome any influence or intervention at that time in the nominating to bishoprics in the kingdom of the French. Nothing can be a more convincing proof that all laws, civil and ecclesiastical, are dictated by conveniency, maintained by force, destroyed by want of power, and changed by time. The bishops of Rome pretended to absolute authority, but had it not. The popes, when under the yoke of the Lombard kings, would have made over all their ecclesiastical authority in France to the first person of that nation who would have delivered them from the yoke they groaned under in Italy.

Pope Stephen stood in greater need of the assist-

ance of Pepin, than this latter did of him, as appears plainly by the priest's imploring the protection of the warrior. The new king caused himself to be again anointed by the bishop of Rome, in the church of St. Denis in France. This fact appears somewhat singular; for it is not customary to be crowned twice, when the first ceremony is thought to be sufficient. It should appear then, that in the opinion of the common people, there was something more sacred and authentic in the person of a bishop of Rome, than in that of a German bishop; that the monks of St. Denis, in whose church this second anointing was performed, affixed an idea of greater efficacy to the oil poured over the head of a Frank by a Roman prelate, than to that poured by the hands of a missionary of Mentz; and lastly, that the successor of St. Peter had a superior power to any other, to make a usurpation lawful.

Pepin was the first king anointed in France; and the only one that ever was so by a Roman pontiff. Clovis was neither crowned nor anointed king by Bishop Remi; and he had reigned some years before he was baptized. Had he ever received the sacred unction, his successors would undoubtedly have kept up so solemn a ceremony, which soon afterward became necessary. No monarch had been anointed before Pepin, who received the sacred unction in the abbey church of St. Denis.

It was not till three hundred years after the reign of Clovis, that Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims,

declared in his writings, that a pigeon had brought from heaven a phial called the holy ampulla. Perhaps the good prelate thought by this story to give a religious sanction to the right of anointing kings, which the metropolitans then began to exercise. This right, however, was established only by length of time, like all other customs; and these prelates did a considerable time afterward perform this ceremony on all the kings from Philip I. to Henry IV., who was crowned at Chartres, and anointed with the ampulla of St. Martin; the Leaguers being at that time in possession of the ampulla of St. Remi.

It is true, these ceremonies add nothing to the right of kings; but they seem to increase the veneration of the people.

It is not to be doubted that this ceremony of anointing, as well as the custom of carrying the kings of the Franks, Goths, and Lombards on a shield, came originally from Constantinople. The emperor Cantacuzenus tells us himself that it was a practice from time immemorial for the emperors to be carried on a shield on the shoulders of the patriarch and principal officers of the empire; after which the emperor quitting his throne, went up to a desk in the church, where the patriarch made the sign of the cross on his head, with a feather dipped in oil, which had been consecrated for the purpose. The crown was then placed on the head of the new Cæsar, by a chief of state, or a prince of the imperial family, the patriarch and people crying out: "He is

worthy." But at the anointing of the sovereign of the West, the bishop addressed himself to the people, saying: "Will you accept this person for your king?" And then the new monarch made an oath to his people, after having taken it in the first place to the bishops.

THE PAPAL POWER.

The Franks, after having conquered the Gauls, were desirous of subduing Italy likewise; the dominion of this country had always been the favorite object of all the barbarous nations, not that Italy was in itself a better country than Gaul, but it was at that time better cultivated; the towns and cities which had been built, beautified, or enlarged by the Romans, were still in a good condition; and the fruitfulness of Italy had always been a strong temptation for a restless, poor, and warlike people. If Pepin could have made the conquest of Lombardy, as Charlemagne did, he undoubtedly would have done it; and if he did conclude a treaty with Astolphus, it was owing to the exigency of circumstances, he not being sufficiently established on the throne of France, which he had lately usurped, having the dukes of Aquitaine and Gascony to contend with, whose rights to those countries were much better than those of Pepin to the kingdom of France. How then could he have bestowed so many lands on the popes, when he was forced to return to France to support his usurpation there?

Observe the different degrees through which the pontifical power has passed. The first bishops of Rome were indigent and obscure persons, who preached the word to others as poor as themselves, in cells and caverns in Rome. In the space of two centuries we find them at the head of a considerable flock; under Constantine they were rich and respected; they became patriarchs of the West, they acquired immense possessions in lands and money, and at length grew to be powerful sovereigns, and thus have in almost all things deviated from their first origin. Were the ancient founders of the Roman and Chinese empires, and that of the caliphs, to rise again to life, they would behold their thrones filled by Goths, Turks, and Tartars.

CHARLEMAGNE.

The great respect paid Charlemagne is one of the strongest proofs that success sanctifies injustice, and conquers glory. His father, Pepin, at his death, divided his dominions between his two sons, Carloman and Charles. This will was ratified in an assembly of the nation. Carloman had for his portion Provence, Languedoc, Burgundy, Switzerland, and Alsace; Charles had all the rest for his share. The two brothers always lived at variance with each other. Carloman died suddenly, leaving a widow and two children very young. Charles immediately seized on their patrimony, and their mother was obliged to fly with her children for refuge to the

court of Desiderius, king of the Lombards, whom we call Didier. This Didier was a natural enemy to the Franks, and the father-in-law to Charlemagne had as great a hatred to him, because he feared him. It is certain that Charlemagne had no greater regard for the law of nature, and the ties of blood, than other conquerors.

Charles sent several colonies of Franks to settle in the territories he had conquered. We have no instance of any prince thus transporting his subjects without their consent. You may have observed great emigrations, but no one sovereign who thus established colonies after the old Roman method. It is a strong proof of the policy and stretch of despotic power, to oblige men to quit the place of their nativity.

Desiderius was obliged to deliver the sister-in-law of Charles and her children into the hands of the conqueror. History does not inform us whether they were shut up in a cloister, as well as their protector, or whether they were put to death.

It was the custom of the senate of Rome to write to the emperor, or the exarch of Ravenna when there was one: "We humbly pray that you will order the consecration of our father and pastor." The metropolitan of Ravenna likewise came in for his share of the compliment. The pope elect was obliged to pronounce two confessions of faith. How different from the authority of the tiara! But where

is that greatness which may not be traced back to as low a beginning?

This man, who shed such a torrent of blood, robbed his nephews of their patrimony, and was suspected of incest, has, by the Church of Rome, been ranked among the number of her saints.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS IN THE TIME OF CHARLEMAGNE.

A young barbarian named Chram makes war on his own father, Clotharius, regent of one part of Gaul. The father causes his son to be burned, together with all his friends and accomplices who had been made prisoners. This happened in the year 559.

Europe was for so many ages like a strayed and timorous hind, devoured by hungry wolves and tigers in the midst of a desert.

Bishops had no share in the government till the reign of Pipin or Pepin, father of Charles Martel, and grandfather to the other Pepin, who made himself king; neither had they a seat in the assemblies of the French nation. They were all either Gauls or Italians, people considered as vassals; and though bishop Remi, the same who baptized Clovis, wrote to King Sicambrus the famous letter in which is the following expression: "Be sure you do not take the upper hand of the bishops, follow their councils, for so long as you act in concert with them, your administration will be smooth and easy." Nevertheless,

neither Clovis nor his successors made the clergy one of the orders of the state; and indeed the government was then altogether military, and cannot be more aptly compared than to the states of Algiers and Tunis, which are governed by a chief and a militia.

But when the majordomos, or mayors of this militia, insensibly usurped the supreme power, they endeavored to strengthen their authority, by the credit of the prelates and abbots, by calling them to the assemblies in the *Champs de mai.*

According to the annals of Mentz, it was in the year 692, that Mayor Pepin, the first of the name, procured this prerogative for the clergy; an era which has been very negligently passed over by most historians, but which is very considerable, and deserving of notice, as it laid the first foundation of the temporal power of the bishops and abbots in France and Germany.

You ask whether Charlemagne, his predecessors or successors were despotic, and if their kingdom was secured to them by right of inheritance in those times. It is certain that Charlemagne was despotic in fact, and consequently that his kingdom was hereditary, seeing that he declared his son emperor in full assembly of the states of the nation. The right is rather more doubtful than the fact. The rights of those times had the following foundation:

The inhabitants of the North and of Germany were originally a nation of hunters, and the Gauls,

who were conquered by the Romans, were either husbandmen or burghers; now a people who always went ready armed for the chase would naturally get the better of and subject a set of clowns and shepherds, who were always employed in drudgery and labor; and still more easily of the quiet citizens, who dwelt in unarmed security by their firesides. Thus the Tartars overran Asia, and the Goths marched to the very gates of Rome. All the hordes of Tartars, Goths, Huns, Vandals, and Franks were governed by chiefs. These wandering chiefs were chosen by plurality of voices, and it could not be otherwise, for what right could a thief have to lord it over his fellow robbers? The most dexterous, bold, and fortunate spoiler must at length gain the sovereignty over those who did not possess those qualifications, so effectual to a life of rapine and plunder, in as high a degree as himself. They all shared equally in the booty, and this was a law that had subsisted in all times among every tribe of conquerors. If we would have a proof of the antiquity of this law, we need only turn to the story of the Frank, who would not suffer Clovis to take a silver cup belonging to the church of Rheims from the booty, and who cut the vessel in pieces with his battle-axe, without the chief daring to oppose him.

Clovis became despotic in proportion as he became powerful. This is the usual progress of human nature. It was the same with Charlemagne; he was the son of a usurper. This son of the lawful

prince was shaven and condemned to say his breviary in a cloister in Normandy; Charlemagne was therefore obliged to observe the greatest precautions before a nation of warriors assembled in parliament. "We will ye to know," says he in one of his capitularies, "that in consideration of our humility, and the readiness with which we observe your advice, out of fear of God, that ye, on your parts, take care to maintain the dignity which God hath bestowed on us, in like manner as your ancestors acted with regard to ours."

His only ancestor, however, was his father, who had usurped the kingdom, and he himself had robbed his nephews of their birthright. He flattered the great men while assembled in parliament; but that parliament once dissolved, woe to him who dared to contradict his will.

As to the succession, it was natural for the chief of a conquering people to endeavor to gain their suffrages, in favor of his own son, to succeed him. This custom of conferring the succession by election became in time the most legal and inviolable of any, and still continues in force in the German Empire; and the right of election was deemed to belong so peculiarly to the conquering people, that when Pepin usurped the kingdom of the Franks, to whose king he had only been a domestic servant, Pope Stephen II., who was in the usurper's interest, forbade the French, on pain of excommunication, to elect for their king a descendant of any other race. This

excommunication was indeed as striking an example of superstition, as Pepin's undertaking was of boldness; but this very superstition is a proof of the right of election, and shows that the conquering nation could choose from among the descendants of its chief, the person who was most agreeable to it. The pope does not say: "You shall not choose for your king any other than the first-born of the house of Pepin," but: "You shall not choose any but one of his family."

Charlemagne says in one of his capitularies: "If of one of the three princes, my sons, there should be born a male child, whom it shall please the nation to call to the succession after his father, I will that his uncles do not oppose such succession." It is evident by this title, and a multitude of others, that the French nation had, at least in appearance, a right of election. This custom was originally that of all nations: we find it established among the Jews, the other Asiatic nations, and the Romans. The first successors of Mahomet were elected; the sultans of Egypt, and the first miramolins held their power by no other tenure, and it is only by length of time that a kingdom becomes entirely hereditary; valor, address, and necessity are the only laws.

RELIGION IN THE TIME OF CHARLEMAGNE.

The books called "Carolines" were written in a Latin tolerably pure, which shows that Charlemagne had succeeded in restoring literature; but, at the

same time, they furnish an incontestable proof that there were never any theological disputes carried on without invectives on both sides. The very title of these books is itself an invective. "In the name of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ," begins the book of the most illustrious and excellent Prince Charles, etc., against the absurd and audacious symbol held by the Greeks for the adoration of images. The title of this book makes King Charles to have been its author in the same manner as public edicts are issued under the name of the reigning prince, though he may have no hand in forming them. It is certain that all the subjects of Charlemagne looked on the Greeks as idolaters.

The dispute touching the Holy Ghost, which time and the erudition of the clergy afterward cleared up, was then in a state of obscurity. Several passages were quoted from the fathers, and particularly from St. Gregory of Nice, where it is said, that "one of the three persons is the cause, and the other comes from the cause. One proceeds immediately from the first, and the other proceeds from Him also, but by the means of the Son, by which means the Son reserves to Himself the property of unity, without excluding the Holy Ghost from a relation to the Father."

These authorities did not at that time appear sufficiently demonstrative, and therefore Pope Adrian II. did not come to a decision. That pontiff was very sensible that one may be a sound Christian

without being able to penetrate these profound mysteries.

In the first age of the Church it was believed that the world was near its end. This belief was founded on a passage in St. Luke, where these words are put into the mouth of our Saviour: "There shall be signs in the sun and in the moon, and in the stars, and on the earth; distress of nations, with perplexity; the sea and waves roaring; men's hearts failing them for fear of those things which are coming on the earth; for the powers of heaven shall be shaken, and then they shall see the Son of Man coming in a cloud, with power and great glory: and when ye see these things come to pass, know ye that the kingdom of God is nigh at hand. Verily, I say unto you, this generation shall not pass away till all be fulfilled."

Several pious persons, who took this prediction according to the letter, which, say the commentators, regard Jerusalem only, thought that the world was on the point of being destroyed, and expected the approach of the last day, when Jesus Christ was to come in the clouds. Hence arose those numberless imaginary wonders that were beheld in the heavens.

One would imagine that the precise date of the establishment of our Church rites should be known, and yet we are quite in the dark concerning this period. We do not know, for instance, at what time the mass, as now celebrated, first came into

use. We are ignorant of the true origin of baptism by immersion or sprinkling, of auricular confession, and of communicating with unleavened bread, and with the bread only without wine; neither do we know who first gave the name of sacrament to marriage, confirmation, and extreme unction, or the anointing persons at the point of death.

Auricular confession was not received so late as the eighth and ninth centuries in the countries beyond the Loire, in Languedoc and the Alps. Alcuin complains of this in his letters. The inhabitants of those countries appear to have always had an inclination to abide by the customs of the primitive Church, and to reject the tenets and customs which the Church in its more flourishing state judged convenient to adopt.

The weakness of the sex was sometimes the cause that women stood more in awe of their confessors than of their husbands. Almost all those who were confessors to queens availed themselves of that private and sacred empire they had over their penitents, to wriggle themselves into state affairs; and when once a monk had gotten the ascendant over the mind of his sovereign, the rest of the fraternity took the advantage of it, and many of them made use of the credit of the confessor to wreak vengeance on their enemies.

Idolatry, or the religion of image worshippers, must certainly consist in attributing a divine power and efficacy to images, or the representation of some

particular person or thing; therefore, this could not be the religion of the Scandinavians, because they had neither painter nor sculptor among them.

THE PURGATIONS OR TRIALS.

You would know if these customs were first established by the Greek or the Latin Church? We find examples of these trials at Constantinople as late as the thirteenth century, and Pachymeres declares he was an eye-witness of it; it is probable, therefore, that the Latins received these Oriental superstitions from the Greeks.

STATE OF EUROPE AFTER THE DEATH OF LOUIS THE DÉBONNAIRE.

The fate of the world always depends on the interests of princes: a Frank and a Salian founded the kingdom of France. The son of Pepin, a mayor or majordomo of the palace, held the empire of the Franks, which was ever divided by the quarrels of three brothers. These unnatural children, Lotharius, Louis of Bavaria, and Charles the Bald, after spilling a deluge of blood at Fontenay, at length dismembered the empire of their father Charlemagne by the famous peace of Verdun, by which Charles the Bald had France; Lotharius Italy, Provence, Dauphiny, Languedoc, Switzerland, Lorraine, Alsace, and Flanders; and Louis of Bavaria, or the Germanic, had Germany.

It is from this epoch that the most learned his-

torians begin to give the name of French to the Franks. From this time Germany may date her private, as well as public laws; and this was the origin of the hatred between the Germans and the French. Each of the three brothers was disturbed in the enjoyment of his portion by ecclesiastical disputes, and those divisions and bickerings which always arise between parties who have been compelled to make peace against their wills.

In the midst of these discords and dissensions, Charles the Bald, the first sole king of France, and Louis of Bavaria, the first sole king of Germany, called a council against Lotharius, and this Lotharius I. is emperor, though stripped of his dominions in France and Germany.

THE NORMANS.

The invention of battering rams to make a breach in walls, is of as ancient a date as walls themselves, for mankind are as industrious to destroy as to raise up. And here I must beg leave to step aside from my subject for a moment to observe that the Trojan horse was absolutely the very same kind of engine, to which was fixed a horse's head of brass, in like manner as was afterward that of a ram's. This we are told by Pausanias in his description of Greece.

SPAIN AND THE MOORS.

The Barbarians who overran the greatest part of Europe in the beginning of the fifth century, laid

waste this country as well as they had done others: but how happened it that Spain, who defended herself so bravely against the incursions of the Romans, fell so suddenly a prey to the Barbarians? The reason was this: At the time she was attacked by the Roman arms she abounded in patriots, but when once subjected by that republic, her people became slaves, ill treated by effeminate masters, and she soon fell a prey to the Suevi, the Goths, and the Vandals. After these latter came the Visigoths, who now began to settle themselves in Aquitaine and Catalonia, while the Ostrogoths were subverting the Roman Empire in Italy. These Ostrogoths and Visigoths were, as we know, outwardly Christians, but not of the Roman Church, nor that of the Eastern emperors, who reigned at that time, but of the communion which had been long received by the Greek Church, and which believed in Jesus, but without admitting his equality with the Father. The Spaniards, on the contrary, were attached to the rites of the Roman Church. Thus the conquerors and the conquered were of different faiths, which contributed to render the yoke of the latter more heavy. The dioceses were divided between Arian and Athanasian bishops, as in Italy; a division which still added to the suffering of the nation. The Visigoth kings wanted to do the same in Spain as we have seen done since in Italy by the Lombard king, Lotharius, and which Constantine did at his accession to the throne of the empire, that is, to

unite, by a liberty of conscience, people who were divided by their particular tenets.

Leovigild, king of the Visigoths, was desirous of uniting those who were the advocates of consubstantiality and those who were against it. His son, Hermenegild, rebelled against him. There was at that time a petty king of the Suevi who was in possession of the country of Galicia, and some places in its neighborhood. The rebellious Hermenegild made an alliance with this prince, and for a long time carried on the war against his father. At length, after refusing all invitations to return to his duty, he was defeated and taken prisoner in Cordova, where he was killed by one of his father's officers. The Church of Rome has canonized him, regarding only that he fought for her religion, without considering that he made that religion a pretext for an unnatural rebellion against his father.

This memorable event happened in the year 584, and I relate it only as one of the many instances of the deplorable state to which Spain was then reduced.

The kingdom of the Visigoths was not hereditary. The bishops, who had then the same authority in Spain which they acquired in France under the Carlovingian race, raised up and deposed princes, and the leading men of the state, at their pleasure. This was another source of continual disturbances; for example, they elected the bastard, Liuva, to the prejudice of his brothers born in lawful wedlock:

and this Liuva having been assassinated by a Gothic captain, named Witteric, they chose this Witteric to succeed him.

Wamba, one of the best of their kings, and of whom we have already spoken, having fallen sick, was clad in sackcloth, and submitted to do public penance by the advice of the priest, as the only method of obtaining a cure: he received his cure, but afterward was declared incapable of exercising the kingly office, having done penance, and was shut up for seven days in a monastery. This precedent was quoted in France at the deposition of Louis the Feeble.

The first Gothic conquerors who subjected Spain, did not suffer themselves to be treated in this manner. They founded an empire which extended from Provence and Languedoc in Europe, to Ceuta and Tangiers in Africa; but this empire being badly governed, soon fell to ruin. There were so many rebellions in Spain, that at length King Wilika disarmed his subjects and dismantled several towns. In so doing he compelled them to obedience, but deprived himself of their assistance. In order to gain the clergy on his side, he convoked an assembly of the nation, and made an edict, by which bishops and priests were permitted to marry.

The conquerors of Xeres did not make an ill use of the success of their arms. They left the conquered the full enjoyment of their possessions, laws, and worship, contenting themselves with a tribute,

and the honor of being masters; and not only the widow of King Roderick espoused young Abdalis, but after her example the Moors and Spaniards frequently mingled bloods. The latter, who had been scrupulously attached to their religion, quitted it in great numbers, in order to take the title of Mozarabians, which signified half Arabians, instead of that of Visigoths, which their nation till then had borne. This name Mozarabian had nothing in it mortifying to the vanquished, as the Arabians were the most gentle of all conquerors, and brought with them into Spain new arts and sciences.

The title of Don is an abridgment of Dominus, a title which the Roman emperor Augustus thought too ambitious, because it signified master. It was afterward given to the Benedictine monks, then to the noblemen of Spain, and lastly to the king of that country. The lords of fiefs then first began to assume the title of *ricos hombres* — rich men — rich signifying he who had great possessions in land, the only wealth the Spaniards had at that time. The dignity of grandees was not then known, and the title of great was not in use till three centuries afterward, in the reign of Alphonso, tenth of the name, king of Castile, at which time Spain began to be in a flourishing condition.

THE GREEK EMPIRE.

Basilius, who murdered the emperor Michael the Young, is the same who was thought just when he deposed the patriarch Photius.

Did not the Switzers set fire to their villages and hamlets in order to remove into Languedoc when Cæsar compelled them to return and till their grounds? And what were Pharamond and Clovis but barbarians who had transplanted themselves, and did not meet with a Cæsar?

A MONK WHIPPED FOR THE SAVING GRACE.

In the year 814 a Benedictine monk, whose name was John Gottschalk, having raised some trifling contest concerning predestination and grace, the event proved how dangerous it is to meddle with these matters, and especially to dispute against a powerful antagonist. The same monk having taken certain expressions of St. Paul and St. Augustine in too literal a sense, thought proper to preach up the absolute and eternal predestination of a few elect, and a great number of damned. Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, a man as violent in Church matters as in those of State, sent for this monk, and told him that he was predestinated to be tried, condemned, and whipped; and accordingly he was excommunicated in one of the lesser councils, held in the year 850, and then stripped naked in the presence of the emperor Charles the Bald, and flogged by monks from his shoulders to his legs.

This trifling contest, in which both parties were equally in the wrong, had been but too much revived. In Holland you will find the synod of Dordrecht, which consisted of persons who favored the

doctrine of Gottschalk, treating those of Hincmar's sect there worse than with a simple flogging. Again, in France, you will find the Jesuits of Hincmar's party persecuting to the utmost of their power the Jansenists, who were attached to the tenets of Gottschalk. These disputes will end only when the number of philosophers shall exceed that of teachers.

THE EMPEROR OTHO.

How could the emperor Otho, by an act confirming one made before by Charlemagne, bestow the sovereignty of Rome, which Charlemagne himself never bestowed? How could he make a present of the duchy of Beneventum, of which he was not in possession, and which at that time belonged to its own duke? How could he give away Corsica and Sicily, when those islands were occupied by the Saracens? Either Otho must have been greatly deceived, or this act is spurious.

The imprudence of John XII. in inviting the Germans to Rome proved the source of all those troubles which Rome and Italy afterward experienced.

OTHO II., AND III., AND ROME.

Never was Rome and the Latin Church held in a more contemptible light at Constantinople than in these unhappy times. Leutprandus, ambassador from the emperor Otho I. to the emperor Nicephorus Phocas, tells us that the inhabitants of Rome were not called Romans, but Lombards, throughout

the Imperial city, and the bishops of Rome were looked on only as schismatic banditti. St. Peter's having dwelt at Rome was considered as an absurd fable, founded wholly on an expression of that apostle in one of his epistles, where he says he had been at Babylon, which had been interpreted to mean Rome. The Saxon emperors were also held in as low esteem at Constantinople, being looked on as a set of barbarians.

And yet the court of Constantinople itself was very little superior to that of the German emperors; but there were more trade, industry, and riches in the Greek Empire than in the Latin, for everything had fallen to decay in the West since the glorious days of Charlemagne. Brutality, debauchery, anarchy and poverty prevailed in every state, and ignorance seemed to lord it with universal sway, and yet we do not hear of a greater number of miracles in these days than in other times. Every age has had them, and it is only since the establishment of academies of arts and sciences in Europe, and the people are become more enlightened, that we no longer meet with them; or if, by chance, some do now and then make their appearance, sound natural philosophy soon reduces them to their real value.

HENRY I. OF FRANCE MARRIED A RUSSIAN PRINCESS.

We do not know whether that Russia from which this princess came was Black, Red, or White Russia; whether this princess was born a pagan, a

Christian, or a Greek; whether she changed her religion when she was married to the king of France; nor how in those days, when all communication between the different nations and kingdoms of Europe was so very rare, the king of France met with a princess of the country of the ancient Scythians; nor who proposed this match.

FRANCE IN THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES.

In general, if we compare the state of France in the tenth and eleventh centuries with the present one, human nature will appear to have been then in its infancy, respecting government, religion, commerce, the arts and sciences, and the rights of the people.

It was in particular astonishing to behold the abject and scandalous state of the Church of Rome, and the power she had over all minds in the midst of her humiliation; the crowd of different popes created by the emperors; the slavish condition of those pontiffs; their exorbitant power when they became masters; and the great abuse they made of that power. Sylvester II., who was the same Gerbert who made such a noise on account of his learning in the tenth century, and was even thought to be a magician, because he had learned a little arithmetic and some few elements of geometry from an Arabian: this man I say, who had been preceptor to Otho III., was driven from his archbishopric of Rheims, by King Robert, and afterward created pope

by Otho III., is still reputed to have been a man of letters, and a wise pope. And yet Adhemar Chabanois, his contemporary and admirer, tells us the following story of him in his chronicle:

Guy, viscount of Limoges, a French nobleman, had some dispute with Grimoad, bishop of Angoulême, touching certain rights belonging to the abbey of Brantome. The bishop excommunicates the viscount; and the latter imprisons the bishop. Such violent proceedings were but too common all over Europe, where force held the place of law.

So great was the reverence paid to the see of Rome in these times of general anarchy, that the bishop — after being released from his confinement — and the viscount both went from France, to plead their cause before Pope Sylvester II. in full consistory. When, who would believe it! the viscount was sentenced to be drawn asunder by four horses; which sentence would most certainly have been executed on him had he not found means to make his escape. The outrages committed by this nobleman, in causing a bishop to be imprisoned who was not his subject; the penitence he expressed for the same; his submission to the authority of the Roman pontiff; and the sentence equally absurd and inhuman of the consistory, altogether form a most lively portrait of the character of those brutal and uncivilized times.

THE CONQUEST OF ENGLAND BY WILLIAM, DUKE OF NORMANDY.

The monks tell us that Edward was the first king in Europe who had the gift of curing the king's evil. He had already restored sight to seven or eight blind persons; when a poor woman who was afflicted with an obstruction, applied to him for relief, he cured her instantly by touching her, and making the sign of the cross; so that from a state of barrenness, she afterward became the mother of children. The kings of England ever afterward arrogated this healing power to themselves; they did not indeed pretend to make the barren fruitful, or to restore sight to the blind; but to touch for the king's evil, which they frequently did without curing them.

St. Louis, king of France, as lord paramount over the kings of England, touched likewise for the king's evil; and his successors preserved the same right. William III. of England neglected it; and the time will come when reason having made a little more progress in France, will totally abolish this custom there.

The custom of keeping a number of concubines, authorized throughout all the East, and by the Jewish law, was prohibited in the Gospel dispensation. Nevertheless, general practice still gave a sanction to it; and so far was it from being considered as a matter of shame, that William the Con-

queror frequently used to sign William the Bastard. There is still a letter of his extant, written to Allen, count of Brittany, with this signature. Bastards frequently shared in the inheritance left by their father; for in all countries where men were not governed by fixed laws, it is certain that the will of the prince would always be the reigning code.

The old chronicles tell us, an esquire named Taillefer or Cut-Iron, being at the head of the Norman army on horseback, sang forth the famous song of Roland, which was so long in the mouth of every Frenchman, and of which there is not the least fragment remaining. This same Taillefer, after singing this song, in which he was accompanied by all the army, clapped spurs to his horse, and rode into the midst of the English forces, where he was presently cut in pieces.

Some writers term the crowning of William a free election; an act of authority of the Parliament of England. It is indeed the authority of slaves, trained to war, who grant their masters the liberty of scourging them.

William having received a consecrated banner from the pope, when he set out on his English expedition, in return now sent his holiness the banner of King Harold, who had been slain in the battle, and a small share of the small treasure, which a king of England in those times could be supposed to be possessed of. This was a considerable present, however, for Pope Alexander II., who was still dis-

puting his see with Honorius II., and who, in consequence of a long civil war in Rome, was reduced to a state of indigence. Thus a barbarian, the son of a prostitute, and the murderer of a lawful king, divides the spoils of that king with another barbarian; for, take away the titles of duke, king, and pope, and we shall have only the action of a Norman thief, and a Lombard receiver.

EUROPE IN THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES.

The dukes of Muscovy, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, were not called czars or tsars, or tchards; nor did they assume this title till after they became masters of those countries about Kazan, which belonged to certain tsars. Tsar is a Slavonic term, taken from the Persian language; and in the Slav Bible, King David is called Tsar David.

Albert, surnamed the Great, made a journey into Poland, purposely to root out their shocking customs; but it was a considerable time before he could succeed. All the rest of the nation lived after a manner equally savage, the true state of human nature, before it had been changed by art.

We are not told whether the Cid's wife, Chimene, embraced the Christian religion. The Moors at that time passed for a people of great consequence; and an alliance with them was deemed a high honor. The surname Rodriguez was Moorish; and hence the Spaniards were called *Morenos*.

From the middle to the latter end of the eleventh century the Cid rendered himself famous in Europe. This was the golden age of chivalry, but at the same time was the era of the insolent attempts of Gregory VII., of the misfortunes of Germany, and of the first crusade.

RELIGION AND SUPERSTITION IN THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES.

Those who were called Manichæans, and those who were afterward named Albigenses, Vaudois, Lollards, and who appeared so often under different names, were remnants of the first Gaulish Christians, who were attached to several ancient customs, which the Church of Rome thought proper to alter afterward; as likewise to certain vague opinions, which that same Church adopted in process of time; for example, these primitive Christians knew nothing of image worship. They have never instituted auricular confession. We must not suppose, that, in the time of Clovis, or those preceding his reign, the inhabitants of the Alps were adepts in the dogma of transubstantiation, and such like. In the eighth century, Claude, archbishop of Turin, adopted most of those opinions which at present constitute what is called the Protestant religion, and pretended that they were those of the primitive church. There is almost always a small flock separated from the principal one; and from the beginning of the eleventh century, this small flock was

butchered or dispersed, whenever it attempted to show its head.

"It is evident," says Ratram, "that the bread and wine do not undergo any change, and therefore they must be the same that they were at first;" and concludes with the quotation from St. Augustine, "that the bread, which is called the body, and the wine, which is called the blood, are emblems, because the whole is a mystery."

In whatever manner Ratram himself, or others, might understand this, they wrote against him. And much about the same time another Benedictine monk, named Pascasius Rathbert, passed for the first person who had explained the general opinion in express terms, by saying: "that the bread was the real body of our Lord, which was brought forth by the Virgin; and the wine mixed with the water, the real blood which flowed from his side, absolutely, and not figuratively." This dispute gave rise to the sect of the Stercorists or Stercoranists, who had the boldness to examine physically an object of faith; and pretended that the consecrated elements must undergo digestion, and be evacuated again like common aliments.

As these controversies were all carried on in Latin, and as the laity were in those times wholly occupied in warlike affairs, they seldom took part in such scholastic disputes; and by a happy consequence, they produced no mischievous effects. The common people had in general a vague and obscure

idea of holy mysteries, and almost always received their articles of faith as they did their money, without being at the pains to weigh or examine it.

It was after the controversy and condemnation of Berenger, that the Church instituted the ceremony of elevating the host; that the people in having the object of their adoration before their eyes, might no longer doubt of its reality, which had been so warmly disputed. But the term transubstantiation was not annexed to this mystery, nor adopted till the year 1215, at the Lateran Council.

The opinion of Scotus, Ratram, and Berenger was not entirely buried, but was preserved by some of the clergy, from whom it was transmitted to, and received by the Vaudois, the Albigenses, the followers of Huss, and the Protestants, as we shall see hereafter.

You may have observed, that in all the disputes which have armed the Christians against each other, since the first rise of their Church, the see of Rome had always sided with that doctrine which tended the most to degrade the human understanding, and obscure the light of reason. I here speak only as a historian; I set aside the inspiration and infallibility of the Church, which make no part of history. It is certain, that, in making marriage a sacrament, they rendered conjugal fidelity a greater virtue, and adultery a more heinous crime; and that by inculcating the belief of the real presence of God in the bread and wine which were taken into the stomach,

they filled the mind of the communicants with a more reverential awe for the mystery of the eucharist. What reverence was not due to those, who could with a few words change a common aliment into the divine nature, and especially for the chief of a religion that could operate such a prodigy? When human reason, left to itself, began to examine this mystery, the object of former veneration became lessened in the general esteem; and the multiplicity of priests, by rendering this miracle too common, made it at length less respected by the people.

And here we must not forget the custom which began to be introduced in the eleventh century, of buying off the punishments of the dead, by the alms and prayers of the living; and freeing their souls from purgatory, and the establishing a solemn festival for this act of piety.

The belief in a purgatory, as well as that in a hell, is of the most ancient date; but it is nowhere so clearly expressed, as in the sixth book of Virgil's "Æneid," in which we meet with most of the mysteries of the religion of the Gentiles. The passage I mean is the following:

> *Ergo exercentur pœnis, veterumque malorum*
> *Supplicia expendunt, etc.*

This notion was by degrees adopted and sanctified by the professors of Christianity; and some carried it so far as to believe that we might by prayer change the decrees of Providence, and obtain of God the immediate salvation of a soul condemned

to undergo a temporary punishment in the next life.

Cardinal Peter Damien, the same who relates the story of King Robert's queen being delivered of a monster, tells us, that a pilgrim, in his return from a voyage to Jerusalem, was cast by a tempest on a desert island; where he found an old hermit, who told him that the island was inhabited only by devils, and that the neighborhood of his cottage was entirely covered with flames, into which the devils used to cast the souls of the dead; and that these same devils were incessantly crying and howling against St. Odilon, abbot of Cluny, who was their mortal enemy, and whose prayers, they said, with those of his monks, robbed them of some soul almost every day.

This relation being made to Odilon, he instituted the festival of the dead in his convent. The principles of humanity and piety, which constitute the basis of this institution, may in some measure serve as an excuse for the fable of the pilgrim. The Church soon adopted this solemnity, and made it an obligatory one. Great indulgences were annexed to those who offered up prayers for the dead; and if it had stopped there it would have been an act of devotion; but it soon degenerated into an abuse. These indulgences were sold at an extravagant price, and the mendicant friars in particular made people pay for taking the souls of their friends out of purgatory. Nothing was talked of but apparitions of

deceased persons, who complained that their souls were suffering in purgatory, and requiring them to be released, with denunciations of sudden death and eternal punishment to those who refused to perform this duty. In a word, fraud and extortion succeeded to pious credulity; and this was one of the reasons which in process of time lost the Church of Rome one-half of Europe.

THE EMPEROR HENRY IV.

Let us stop for an instant to contemplate the exhumated corpse of that famous emperor Henry IV., a prince still more unfortunate than Henry IV., king of France. Let us examine whence came such repeated humiliations and misfortunes on the one hand; and on the other, such a bold exertion of power, so many shocking actions deemed holy, so many crowned heads made the victims of religion; and we shall find that the true cause of all these calamities and disorders was in the common people, who are always the foremost to arm the hands of superstition. It was on account of the blacksmiths and butchers that this emperor appeared barefooted before the bishop of Rome. It is the common people who, always slaves to superstition themselves, are for having their masters loaded with the same yoke. When once a prince suffers his subjects to be blinded by fanaticism, they will soon oblige him to appear as fanatic as themselves; and if he attempts to throw off the bondage which they are

so fond of wearing, they will rebel against him. Though he may perhaps imagine that the more weighty he makes the chains of religion — which ever ought to be light and gentle — the more submissive his people will be; the event will show him that his subjects will make use of those chains to fetter him on his throne, or drag him from it.

The pope, on his side, took the same oath as the emperor and his officers. Such was at that time the state of the western part of Christendom, that the two principal personages of this little portion of the world, one of whom boasted himself the successor of the Cæsars, and the other of Jesus Christ, were both obliged to take an oath to each other, that they would not be assassins during the time of the ceremony.

The crowning or consecrating of a pope was at that time attended with as extraordinary ceremonies, and which partook more of simplicity than barbarism. The pontiff elect was seated on a close-stool called the *Stercorarium,* and afterward on a marble chair, where they presented him with the two keys; from thence he was removed to a third chair, where he was presented with twelve colored stones. All these customs have been abolished.

The Germans always wanted to be masters in Italy, and the Italians were always determined to support their liberties. And most certainly they

had a more natural right to that liberty than any German could have to be their master.

The Milanese set the example. The citizens became soldiers, surprised a party of the emperor's troops near Lodi, and defeated them. Had they been seconded by the other cities, Italy would have put on a new face. But Frederick had time to recruit his army.

THE FEUDAL LAW.

The emperor Frederick Barbarossa abolished the feudal law in the year 1158: a law which had been established by custom, and which that custom still maintained in the empire, notwithstanding all his care, whenever the great vassals were powerful enough to make war against their prince. It remained in full force in France till the extinction of the house of Burgundy. In England the feudal government soon gave place to the liberty of the subject; and in Spain it submitted to the absolute power of the sovereign.

In the beginning of the race of Hugues or Hugh, commonly called the Capetian race, from a nickname given to that king, all the little vassals were in arms against the great; and the kings of France were frequently at war with the barons of the duchy of France. The race of the ancient Danish pirates who reigned in Normandy and England, always countenanced these dissensions; on which account Louis the Fat found so much difficulty in reducing

the sieur de Couci, the baron de Corbeil, the sieur de Montlhéry, and another sieur of the village of Puiset, the lord of Baudouin and of Châteaufort; and we find that he did not dare to condemn, or put to death these rebellious vassals. Things are greatly changed in France since that time.

England, from the time of Henry I., was governed in the same manner as France. In the reign of Stephen, son of Henry I., they reckoned no less than one thousand fortified castles or strongholds in England. The kings of France and England could do nothing then without the consent and assistance of a number of barons; and these times were, as we have seen, the reign of anarchy and confusion.

DIVORCE OF LOUIS THE YOUNG AND HIS QUEEN.

This divorce makes one of the greatest objects of the common law, which historians ought to have well understood. The marriage was dissolved at Beaujenci, by a council of bishops, on the idle pretext that Eleanor was second cousin to Louis, and moreover, the Gascon lords were obliged to make oath that the married couple were within the decrees of consanguinity, as if the truth of such a relationship could not be known but by an oath. It is very certain that this marriage was null, according to the superstitious laws of those times of ignorance. But if the marriage was null, the two daughters who were born of that marriage must have been bastards; and yet they were both married afterward

as legitimate daughters of Louis; and of consequence the marriage of their mother Eleanor was reputed valid, notwithstanding the decision of the council. The council then did not pronounce this marriage null, but only declared it to be dissolved, and a divorce; and in the whole proceedings the king never once accused his wife of adultery. Therefore it was a divorce on the most frivolous motive.

It remains to know how, agreeable to the rules of the Christian religion, Eleanor and Louis could again be married to each other. St. Matthew and St. Luke declare plainly that a man cannot marry after having put away his former wife; nor can any man marry a woman who has been so put away by her husband. This law was delivered from the mouth of Christ himself, and yet it has never been observed. What a source for excommunications, interdicts, commotions, and jars, had the popes then intermeddled in such an affair with which they have since so frequently concerned themselves!

While Thomas à Becket was in France he excommunicated several of the lords of Henry's privy council; and wrote in the following manner to that prince: "It is true that I owe you respect as my king, but at the same time I owe you chastisement as my spiritual son." And in the same letter he threatens him with being changed into a beast like Nebuchadnezzar; though there does not seem to have been any great resemblance between Henry and the king of Babylon.

HENRY II., KING OF ENGLAND.

Henry II., king of England, made the conquest of Ireland, in the year 1172. It was at that time a savage country, and had been subdued in part by the earl of Pembroke, with only one thousand two hundred men. This nobleman wanted to secure his conquest; but the king being stronger than he, and being, moreover, furnished with a bull from the pope, easily made himself master of the whole island, which ever afterward remained under the English dominion; though in a barren, poor, and useless condition, till toward the end of the sixteenth century, when agriculture, manufactures, arts, and sciences had been all carried to perfection there; so that Ireland, though a conquered country, is now one of the most flourishing provinces in Europe.

Who were the peers of France, that passed sentence of death on King John of England? They could not be the clergy, for they cannot assist at a trial on life and death. We are not told that there was at that time in Paris a count of Toulouse, a count of Flanders, or a duke of Burgundy. The accused person was himself duke of Guienne and Normandy. The assembly of the peers was composed of barons, holding immediately of the crown. This is a point of great importance, which our historians should have well examined, instead of amusing themselves with drawing up armies in battle array,

or tiring our patience with relations of sieges of castles that no longer exist.

LOUIS VIII.

Louis did not long keep possession of the English throne. The people of England, who had a liking to Henry, afterward Henry III., obliged Louis to restore to that prince the crown which he had taken from his father, John. Thus Louis was only made use of by them as a scourge to chastise a monarch who had displeased them. The pope's legate, who was then in London, dictated as master the conditions on which Louis was to quit England; and, after having excommunicated that prince for presuming to keep possession of the throne against his holiness's decree, compelled him to do penance for the same, by keeping a tenth of two years of his revenue; his officers were taxed at a twentieth; and his chaplains, who had come with him out of France, were obliged to go to Rome to ask absolution, which they did; and were ordered as a punishment, to appear at the door of the cathedral church at Paris, at the four great feasts in the year, barefooted and in their sheets, with each a discipline in his hand, with which he was to be flogged by the canons. It is said that they performed a part of this penance.

This incredible transaction passed in the reign of a courageous and able king, Philip Augustus, who suffered, without murmuring, this indignity to be put on his nation and his own son; so that the

victor of Bouvines could not be said to have ended his career with glory.

This is the proper place to controvert a strange story, which has been told by all our historians, and which is as follows: Louis VIII., being ill of a dangerous malady, his physicians thought that there were no means left to save his life but the use of women. Accordingly a young girl was conveyed into the bed to him; but the king, who chose rather to die than stain his soul with a mortal sin, sent the damsel away. Father Daniel has caused a copperplate of this memorable exploit to be prefixed to the life of Louis VIII., in his "History of France," as the most glorious action of this prince.

This fable has been since applied to several monarchs, and is like all the other tales of this kind, the pure effect of the ignorance of the times. But at present we should certainly know that the use of women is by no means a cure for sickness; and moreover, if Louis VIII. could not have recovered by any other means, there was Blanche, his queen, the handsomest woman of her time, who would have been able to perform this cure. However, Father Daniel will have it that Louis made a truly noble end, by resisting his passions, and fighting against the heretics. It is true that, a little before his death, he went into Languedoc to take possession of part of the country of Toulouse, which young Amaury, count de Montfort, son of the usurper of that name, had sold to him. But can it be said, that buying a

country of a person who had no right to that country, was fighting for the faith? A person of sound understanding, when he reads history, will find little else to do than to refute errors.

It was through a letter of Pope Gregory IX. that it was believed in those times that there really was a book entitled "*De tribus Impostoribus*"—"of the three impostors." This book has never been found.

PALESTINE AND THE CRUSADES.

All the country to the south of the Mediterranean and of Egypt, from Esongeber to the Red Sea, is nothing but a collection of sandy deserts or hideous mountains. These rocks and sands, which are now inhabited by a set of Arabian freebooters, made the ancient country of the Jews. They afterward extended themselves a little northward into Arabia Petræa. The small country of Jericho, which they invaded, was one of the best they possessed; the soil of Jerusalem being much more dry and parched, and not having the advantage of being situated on a river. There is very little pasture in this country, so that the inhabitants, not being able to find food for horses, are obliged to make use of asses as their only beasts of carriage. Their oxen are very poor, but sheep thrive a little better; they have olive trees in some places, which produce tolerable fruit. There are likewise some palm trees here and there; and this country, which the Jews made habitable after infinite pains and labor, was

to them a paradise, in comparison with the deserts of Porain and Cades-Borne.

St. Jerome, who lived so long in Bethlehem, acknowledges that they were troubled with continual droughts in that barren, rocky, and sandy country, where it seldom or never rains, and where there are no springs or fountains; the want of which the natives supply by vast cisterns.

Antiquity had never beheld an instance of emigration, like that in the first crusade to Palestine, set on foot by religious enthusiasm. This epidemic madness now made its appearance for the first time, in order that there might be no scourge, with which mankind had not been afflicted.

A certain French count, having had the insolence to seat himself by the side of the emperor, Alexis Comnenus, and being asked by that prince's order who he was, made this answer: "I am descended of a right noble family. When in my own country, I went every day to the church which is in my own lordship, where were assembled all the brave lords who had vowed to fight duels, and who prayed to Jesus Christ and the Holy Virgin to be favorable to them; but not one of them would fight with me."

Elmacim writes, that at the taking of Jerusalem in 1099, the conqueror shut up all the Jews found in the place, within the synagogues which had been granted to them by the Turks; and setting fire to them, destroyed every soul in the flames. This action

may be credited after the horrible cruelties they perpetrated on this unhappy people in their march.

In the year 1148, Louis the Young, whether he thought himself in danger from the Turks, or the prince of Antioch's troops, took his wife away privately from their vicinity, and went to Jerusalem; by which he had at least the satisfaction of fulfilling the vow he had made, and of telling St. Bernard, that he had seen Bethlehem and Nazareth. But during this journey, the few troops he had left were beaten and dispersed on all sides; and at length, three thousand of the French deserted and turned Mahometans to save their lives.

While Europe was torn in pieces by this holy war, while Andronicus Manuel ascended the tottering throne of Constantinople by the murder of his nephew, and while Frederick Barbarossa and the popes kept all Italy in arms, nature produced one of those tremendous accidents, which should make mankind enter into themselves, and reflect on their own nothingness; an earthquake more violent and extensive than that in 1755, ruined most of the cities in Syria, and also the petty kingdom of Jerusalem. The earth opened in a hundred different places, and swallowed up men and beasts. The Turks were told by their priests that it was a judgment of God on the Christians; and the Christians were taught to believe that God declared Himself in this manner against the Turks; and both parties

continued to butcher each other on the ruins of Syria.

It is said that the emperor Henry VI. demanded a hundred thousand marks of silver for the ransom of Richard, king of England; but a hundred thousand marks would, according to the present value of money, make five millions of livres, a sum which England in those days was not able to furnish: it was more likely a hundred thousand *Marques* or *Marcas* — about a hundred thousand crowns.

The Christians who followed Baldwin, count of Flanders, directed their crusade against the chief of the Christian religion, Pope Innocent III.

TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

The empire of Constantinople, which had still the title of the Roman Empire, was still in possession of all Greece, the Archipelago, and Epirus, and its dominion in Europe extended as far as Belgrade and Wallachia. It disputed the remains of Asia Minor against the Arabians, the Turks, and the Crusades; and the arts and sciences were constantly cultivated in the capital of the empire. It had an uninterrupted succession of historians, till the time that Mahomet II. made himself master of it. These historians were either emperors, princes, or statesmen, but were not therefore better writers. They talk wholly of religion, disguise facts, and aim only at a flow of words, and preserve nothing of the

ancient Greek style but its loquacity. Controversy was the favorite study of the court. The emperor Manuel, in the twelfth century, had a long dispute with his bishops on the words, "My Father is greater than I," while he was threatened by the Crusaders and the Turks. There was a Greek catechism which anathematized, in the severest manner, that well-known verse in the Koran, which says "that God is an infinite Being, who has neither begot nor has been begotten of anyone." Manuel was for taking this anathema out of the catechism. These disputes signalized and enfeebled his reign; but observe how cautiously Manuel acted with regard to the Mussulmans in this dispute. He was not willing that the Greek catechism should offer so great an insult to a victorious people, who acknowledged only one incommunicable God, and were greatly offended at our doctrine of the Trinity.

Alexis Manuel, the son of this emperor, who had married a daughter of Louis the Young, king of France, was dethroned by Andronicus, one of his own relatives. This Andronicus was himself afterward deposed by an officer of his palace, named Isaac Angelus, dragged through the streets of the capital, had one of his ears cut off, his eyes put out, and afterward boiling water poured over his body, till he expired in the most dreadful agonies.

Isaac Angelus, who punished a usurper with so much barbarity, was himself stripped of the crown by his own brother, Alexis Angelus, who ordered

his eyes to be put out. This Alexis Angelus took the name of Comnenus, though in no way related to the imperial family of that name. It was this emperor who was the cause of the taking of Constantinople by the Crusaders.

The son of Isaac Angelus solicited the assistance of the pope and the Venetians against his cruel uncle; and in order to secure them in his favor, he renounced the religion of the Greek Church, and embraced that of the Latin. The Venetians, and some of the princes of the Crusades, such as Baldwin, count of Flanders, and Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, granted him their dangerous assistance. Such auxiliaries were equally hateful to all parties. They encamped with their forces without the gates of the city, which was still in the greatest confusion and tumult. Young Alexis, who was hated by the Greeks for having introduced the Latins, in a short time fell a victim to a new faction. One of his relatives strangled him, and seized on the red sandals, part of the imperial insignia.

The French officers and soldiers danced with some ladies in the sanctuary of the church of St. Sophia, while one of the prostitutes who followed Baldwin's army seated herself on the patriarch's throne, and from thence entertained the company with songs suited to her profession.

ST. FRANCIS D'ASSISI.

Such is the fate of enthusiasm, that St. Francis

not being able to compass his design of burning himself alive, and converting the sultan, was resolved to try the same frolic once more in Morocco; he accordingly took shipping for Spain, but, having fallen ill by the way, he prevailed on Friar Giles, and four others of his companions, to promise to go and convert the people of Morocco. Friar Giles and the four monks set sail for Tetuan, got safe to Morocco, and preached in Italian out of a cart. The Miramolin, taking compassion on their folly, sent them back again to Spain. They returned a second time, and he sent them back as before. They came again a third time, and then the emperor, incensed at their insolence, caused sentence of death to be passed on them by his divan, and with his own hand struck off their heads. By a custom equally superstitious and barbarous, the emperors of Morocco are the chief executioners in their own dominions. The Miramolins pretend to be descended from Mahomet. The first persons who were sentenced to die after the erection of their empire requested, as a favor, to die by the hands of the emperor, thinking thereby to receive a full expiation of all their sins; since which time this horrible custom has been so well kept up that Muley Ismail, the last emperor, during his long reign, put to death no less than 10,000 persons.

The death of the five companions of Francis d'Assisi is still celebrated annually at Coimbra, by a procession as singular as their adventure. It is

pretended that the bodies of these Franciscans came back to Europe after their execution, and stopped at Coimbra, in the church of the Holy Cross. Every year, on the eve of the arrival of these martyrs, the young men and women of the place go in procession from the church of the Holy Cross to that of the Franciscans. The young men and boys have nothing on them but a pair of drawers, which do not fall lower than the upper part of their thighs, and the women and girls wear an under-petticoat full as short. The procession has a considerable distance to march, and they stop several times by the way.

ST. LOUIS.

The greatest part of the large ships of burden, in which the troops of St. Louis were transported, were built in the ports of France. They were 1,800 in number. A king of France could not fit out such an armament in these days, by reason that timber of all kinds is beyond comparison dearer, all the concomitant expenses greater in proportion, and the artillery which is now used, and becomes a necessary part of the equipment, still further enhances the expense and difficulty of fitting out so numerous a fleet.

GENGHIS KHAN.

The Chinese author who has written the conquests of Genghis Khan, and whose work has been translated by Father Gaubil, assures us that the Tartars

had not the least knowledge of the art of writing; this art was wholly unknown to all the people between the province of Archangel and the Great Wall; as likewise to the Celts, the Bretons, the Germans, the Scandinavians, and all the natives of Africa on the other side of Mount Atlas. The use of transmitting to posterity the several articulations of speech, and the ideas of the mind, was one of the great refinements of society, improved and known only to some nations more highly civilized than others, and was never universally known even among those nations. The Tartars delivered their laws by oral tradition, and had no symbols to perpetuate the memory of them.

The Greeks, and before them the Asiatics, were frequently accustomed to give the name of Sons of God to their defenders or legislators, and even to successful or victorious robbers. In all the ages of ignorance divine honors were lavishly paid to whoever instructed, served, or oppressed the rest of mankind.

The monks who travelled through Tartary in the thirteenth century, tell us that Genghis Khan and his sons governed their Tartars with absolute sway; but can it be supposed that armed conquerors, who, in conjunction with their chief, went in search of plunder, to be equally shared between them; men, by nature robust, free, and used to a wandering life, making the snow their bed in winter, and the dewy fields their couch in summer, would suffer

themselves to be treated like beasts of burden by their leaders? This was far from being the disposition of the people of the North. The Alans, the Huns, the Gepidæ, the Turks, the Goths, and the Franks were the companions, not the slaves, of their barbarous chiefs. Despotic power is the work of time, and the result of a long combat between the spirit of ruling and the spirit of independence. A chief has always more ways of oppressing his companions than they of resisting, and at length money makes him their master.

The monk Planus Carpinus, who was sent in 1243 by Pope Innocent IV., to Caracerum, at that time the capital of Tartary, and who was present at the inauguration of the great Khan Octai, tells us that the principal Tartars made their khan sit down on a piece of coarse beaver's skin, and addressed him thus: "Honor the great, be just and merciful to everyone, otherwise thou shalt be so wretched that thou shalt not be worth the skin on which thou now sittest." This was not the speech of slavish courtiers.

If we compare the vast and sudden depredations of Genghis Khan and his followers, with the transactions of our days, we shall find a surprising difference between them. Our generals, who understand the art of war incomparably better than Genghis or his sons, or than many of the other conquerors of ancient times, aided with armies, a simple detachment of which, with a few cannon,

would have put to rout all these numerous hordes of Huns, Alans, and Scythians, can with difficulty take a few towns in the most successful expeditions: the reason is, that in those days there was no art in war; strength alone decided the fate of the world.

Genghis and his sons, elevated with the rapid success of their arms, thought that they would be able to conquer the whole habitable globe. With this view, Kublai Khan, after having made himself master of China, sent an army of one hundred thousand men, on board of a thousand vessels called junks, to make the conquest of Japan; and another son of Genghis, named Batou Shah, penetrated as far as the frontiers of Italy. Pope Celestine IV. sent four monks to him in the quality of ambassadors, the only set of people who would have accepted such a commission. Father Asselin says that he could only be admitted to speak to one of the Tartarian captains, who gave him the following letter for his holiness:

"If thou wouldst continue on the face of the earth, come and do homage to us. If thou obeyest not, we know what will be the consequence. Send new deputies to us, to inform us whether thou wilt be our vassal or our enemy."

The race of Genghis Khan continued a long time in China, under the name of Iven. It is to be believed that the science of astronomy, for which the Chinese were so famous, fell greatly to decay

during these revolutions; for after these times we find none but Mahometan astronomers in China, and they had almost always the care of regulating the calendar, till the arrival of the Jesuits in that empire. This is perhaps one reason of the mediocrity of the Chinese in this respect.

This is the whole of what is necessary for us to know concerning the Tartars in these distant ages. Here we meet with no civil nor canon law; no division between the throne, the altar, the courts of justice; no council, no universities, nor any of those institutions which have improved or overloaded society among us. The Tartars left their deserts about 1212, and in 1236 had conquered one-half of the hemisphere. This is all their history.

MANFRED, OR MANFREDDO.

The emperor Conrad IV. was accused of having poisoned his son Henry. You will find that in all ages the suspicion of poisoning was always more common than the fact itself.

The homage paid to the court of Rome for the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, was one source of the calamities which befell those provinces, and the imperial houses of Suabia, and of Anjou, which latter, after having stripped the lawful heirs of their right, perished itself in a miserable manner. This homage was at first nothing more than a pious and artful ceremony introduced by the Norman conquerors, who, after the example of many other

princes, put their dominions under the protection of the Church, in order to stop, if possible, by the dread of excommunication, the proceedings of those who wanted to take from them what they had usurped. The popes soon converted this obligation into a homage, and though not masters in Rome, they were lords paramount of the Two Sicilies.

The emperor Frederick II., when he died, left Naples and Sicily in the most flourishing condition, and left behind him as monuments of his reign, wise laws properly enforced, new cities built, the capital beautified, and the arts and sciences in high esteem. The kingdom was to have devolved to the emperor Conrad, his son. We do not know whether Manfreddo, or Manfred, as we call him, was the lawful son or bastard of Frederick; but the emperor seems to have considered him in the former light in his will, by which he gave him Tarentum and several other principalities in sovereignty, appoints him regent of the kingdom during the absence of Conrad, and declares him his successor in case of the death of Conrad, and his son Henry, without issue. So far, everything appeared well settled on a peaceable footing; but the Italians never yielded a voluntary obedience to any prince of German extraction. The popes hated the house of Suabia, and wanted to drive them out of Italy, and the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines still continued as strong as ever all over Italy.

The famous Pope Innocent IV., who had deposed

the emperor Frederick II. at Lyons, that is to say, who had the insolence to declare him incapable of reigning, did not fail on this occasion to assert that the children of an excommunicated pagan could not succeed to the possessions of their father.

Innocent then quitted Lyons, in order to hasten to the frontiers of Naples, in order to exhort the barons not to yield obedience to Manfred. This pontiff fought only with the arms of opinion; and you have seen what dangerous weapons these were. Manfred did not dare to trust the barons, who were all devotees, factious, and declared enemies to the house of Suabia. There were still some Saracens remaining in Apulia. His father, the emperor Frederick II., had always kept a guard composed of these Mahometans; the city of Lucera, or Nocera, was full of them, insomuch that it got the surname of *Lucera di Pagani,* or the city of infidels, though the Mahometans were far from deserving this title which the Italians gave them. No people in the world ever had less of what is called paganism in their belief, or were more strongly attached to the worship of one pure God; but the term infidel, or pagan, had rendered Frederick II. odious, on account of the number of Arabians he employed in his armies, and made Manfred still more so. Nevertheless, this latter, with the assistance of his Mahometans, quelled the revolt, and kept the whole kingdom in awe, the city of Naples excepted, which acknowledged Innocent as its only master. This pontiff

pretended that the Two Sicilies had devolved to him, and were become his property by virtue of the words he pronounced when he deposed Frederick II. and his family at the council of Lyons. The emperor Conrad arrives in person to defend his inheritance. He takes the city of Naples; the pope flies to Genoa, his native country, where he contents himself with offering the kingdom to Prince Richard, brother of Henry III., king of England, a prince who was not in a condition to fit out a single vessel, and who thanked his holiness for his dangerous present, without accepting it.

The unavoidable dissensions between Conrad, a German king, and Manfred, an Italian, did the court of Rome more service than either the politics or the anathemas of the pope. Conrad died, and it was pretended, as I have observed, that he was poisoned. The papal see gave credit to the report. Conrad left the crown of Naples to an infant only seven years of age. This was the unfortunate Conradin, whom we shall see came to a tragical end. Conradin was in Germany; Manfred was ambitious: he caused a report to be spread that the young king was dead, and made the people take an oath to him as regent, in case Conradin was alive, and as king if he was dead. Innocent had always on his side in the kingdom the faction of the Guelphs, the sworn enemies of the imperial race, and also the strength of his excommunications. He declares himself king of the Two Sicilies, and grants

certain investitures in that quality. Here, then, we at length see the popes become kings of that country which was conquered by Norman gentlemen. However, their royalty was but of short duration; the pope had an army, but as he knew not how to command it, he put one of his legates at its head; but Manfred, and his Mahometans, with some barons, who were not quite so scrupulous as the rest, routed the legate and the pontifical army.

It was in this situation of affairs that Pope Innocent, finding that he could not get possession of the kingdom of Naples for himself, bethought him of offering to the count of Anjou, brother to St. Louis, a crown of which he had no right to dispose, nor the count to accept. But the pope died in the very beginning of this negotiation; and such is generally the end of all those ambitious projects, which torment and perplex the life of man.

Innocent IV. was succeeded in the pontifical chair by Alexander IV. (Rinaldo de Signi), who adopted all the views of his predecessor. He could not, however, prevail on the brother of St. Louis, the French king, to enter into his measures. That monarch had unfortunately exhausted his kingdom by his last crusade, and his ransom while in Egypt, and was spending what little he had left in rebuilding the walls of some towns on the coast of Palestine, which were in a short time afterward demolished again by the Christians.

Pope Alexander IV. began his pontificate by sum-

moning Manfred to appear before him. This he had a right to do by the feudal law, that prince being his vassal; but as this right went always with the strongest, it was not to be supposed that a vassal, powerful in arms, would appear at the summons of his lord. Alexander was at Naples, into which he had gained admittance by his intrigues, and from thence he treated with his vassals who were in Apulia. Manfred desired his holiness to send a candidate to treat with him. The pope's council determined "that it was not agreeable to the honor of the holy see to send cardinals in that manner."

The civil war was then continued. The pope published a crusade against Manfred, in the same manner as they had been published against the Mussulmans, the emperors, and the Albigenses. It is a considerable distance between Naples and England; nevertheless this crusade was published there; a nuncio was sent into that kingdom to collect the tenth penny. This nuncio absolved King Henry III. of the vow he had made to carry the war into Palestine, on taking another, to furnish the pope with men and money for his war against Manfred.

Matthew Paris says that this nuncio raised fifty thousand pounds sterling in England: to see the English at present, we could hardly suppose their ancestors could have been so weak. The court of Rome, in order to extort this money, had flattered the king with the hopes of getting the crown of

Naples for his son, Edmund, and at the same time was treating with Charles of Anjou, being always ready to bestow the kingdom of the Two Sicilies to whosoever would bid most for it. However, all these negotiations fell to the ground at that time. The pope squandered all of the money he had raised in England in preparing for his crusade, which at last did not take place. Manfred kept his crown, and Pope Alexander IV. died without having succeeded in anything but extorting money from England.

A cobbler being made pope, under the name of Urban IV., continued what his predecessors had begun. This cobbler was born at Troyes, in Champagne. His predecessor had caused a crusade to be preached in England against the Two Sicilies; he had one preached in France, where he scattered his plenary indulgences with a liberal hand, but could raise only a small sum and some few troops, which the count of Flanders, son-in-law to Charles of Anjou, led into Italy. Charles himself at length accepted the crown of Naples and Sicily, with the consent of St. Louis, king of France; but Pope Urban died before he saw the beginning of this revolution.

Here we find three popes who waste their lives in fruitless attempts to dethrone Manfred. A Languedocian — Clement IV.—a subject of Charles of Anjou, completed what the others had begun, and had the honor to have his master for his vassal.

The popes had, about a century before, created the dignity of senator of Rome, which was in fact a revival of the power of the ancient tribunes. This senator was the chief and guardian of the municipal government; and the popes, who so freely disposed of crowns and kingdoms, could not impose a single tax on the people of Rome.

The pope's legate deprived Manfred's body of Christian burial. Kings take revenge only on the living; the Church takes hers on both living and dead.

THE CRUSADE AGAINST THE ALBIGENSES.

The Jesuit Daniel, in speaking of these unhappy wretches, in his history of France, calls them infamous and detestable heretics; but, with the good father's leave, men who could thus voluntarily embrace martyrdom, could not be persons of infamous morals; and most certainly there was nothing detestable in this, but the cruelty with which they were treated. We may indeed lament the blindness of these poor creatures, who imagined that God would make them everlastingly happy, because the monks thought fit to condemn them to the flames.

The spirit of justice and reason, which has of late times been introduced into the law of nations in Europe, has at length evinced that nothing could be more unjust than this war against the Albigenses, in which those concerned did not take arms to quell a people who had rebelled against their sovereign, but to oblige a sovereign to destroy his people.

What should we say in these days, if a number of bishops were to besiege the elector of Saxony, or the elector palatine, in their capitals, on the pretence that the subjects of these princes performed peaceably certain ceremonies which were not in use among the subjects of those bishops?

A council of Rome grants the count of Toulouse a pension of four hundred marks, or marques. If they were marks, it was really twenty thousand of our present francs; and if marques (marcas), about twelve hundred. The latter is more probable, if we consider that the poorer they kept him, the more he must be dependent on the Church.

The reign of St. Louis, the ninth of that name, began unhappily with this horrible crusade against Christians, his vassals. It was not the lot of this prince to acquire any great increase of glory by crusades. Blanche of Castile, his mother, a woman wholly devoted to the pope, by birth a Spaniard, and consequently abhorring the very name of heretic, and withal guardian to a young prince, who was to share the spoils of the oppressed, did all in her power to assist a brother of Simon de Montfort to complete the ravages in Languedoc. Young Count Raymond defended himself gallantly against his enemies. A war was lighted up, resembling that in the Cévennes, which has been already treated of. The priests showed no mercy to the Languedocians; and these never spared the priests. All the prisoners, on both sides, were put to death, and every

town that was taken, reduced to ashes, for the space of two years.

At length, the queen regent, Blanche, who had other enemies to guard against, and young Raymond, weary of such a scene of slaughter, and unable to support the expenses of the war, concluded a peace at Paris in 1228. One Cardinal St. Angelo was chosen arbitrator on the occasion, who imposed the following conditions, which were agreed to and executed on the side of Raymond:

The count of Toulouse was to pay ten thousand marks, or marques, for the use of the churches of Languedoc, into the hands of a person appointed by the cardinal to receive the same; two thousand to the monks of Citeaux, who were already immensely rich; five hundred to the monks of Clairvaux, who were more opulent still; and fifteen hundred to the other abbeys. He was to go and make war for five years on the Turks and Saracens, who, most assuredly, had never made war on him; he was to give up to the king of France, without any equivalent, all his dominions on this side the Rhine; for what he possessed on the other side of that river was a fief of the empire. Raymond signed this instrument, which stripped him of all his possessions, and then Cardinal St. Angelo, and the pope's legate, acknowledged him not only to be, but always to have been, a good Catholic; only they led him, for form's sake, in his shirt, and barefooted, before the altar of the church of Notre Dame, in Paris, where he

asked forgiveness of the Virgin; probably, in his heart, for having signed so infamous a treaty.

The crusades against Languedoc lasted twenty years. The desire of possessing another's property gave rise to them, and at the same time to the Inquisition. This new scourge, before unknown to all religions in the world, received its first form in the year 1204, in the pontificate of Innocent III. It was established in France as early as 1229, in the reign of St. Louis. A council held at Toulouse, in the last mentioned year, began by forbidding Christian laymen to read the Old and New Testaments. It was a downright insult to mankind to dare to say to them: "We will that you have a certain belief, but we will not, that you read the book on which that belief is to be founded."

This council ordered all the works of Aristotle to be burned, that is to say, two or three copies of them that had been brought from Constantinople during the first crusades. These were books that no one understood, and on which the heresy of the Languedocians was founded. Succeeding councils have placed Aristotle almost in the same rank with the fathers of the Church. Thus you will see, everywhere, in this great picture of the follies of mankind, the opinions of the clergy, the superstition of the people, and enthusiasm in general, continually putting on new shapes, but always tending to plunge the world in barbarism and misery, till certain academies, or assemblies of men of learning

and enlightened knowledge, arose and made the present age blush for the ignorance of its ancestors.

But it was still worse in 1237, when the king had the weakness to give leave for a grand inquisitor to reside in his kingdom, nominated by the pope. This was Robert, a Franciscan friar, who exercised this new office, first in Toulouse, and afterward in the other province.

Had this Robert only been a fanatic, there would have been, at least, the appearance of zeal in his ministry, which might have excused the cruelties he was guilty of, in the eyes of the weak and bigoted; but he was an apostate, and carried about with him an abandoned prostitute, whom he entertained as a mistress, and who, to complete the horrible scene, was herself a heretic. Thus says Matthew Paris and Mousk; and we find it proved in the *"Specilegium"* of Luke d'Acheri.

St. Louis, king of France, unhappily permitted him to exercise his inquisitional functions in Paris, Champagne, Burgundy, and Flanders. He made the king believe that there was a new sect arisen, which privately infested these provinces. On this pretence, the inhuman monster condemned to the flames, without mercy, everyone whom he thought proper to suspect, or who had not interest or money sufficient to ransom themselves out of his hands. The common people, who are frequently the best judges of those who impose on their kings, never gave this Robert any other title than that of Robert

the B———r. He was at length discovered, and his villainies and infamy brought to light; but what will strike you with a great indignation and astonishment, is, that he was only condemned to perpetual imprisonment; and you will find no mention made of this man in Father Daniel's history of France.

In this manner, then, did the Inquisition first begin in Europe; a beginning truly worthy of the institution itself. You are doubtless fully sensible that it must be the height of brutal and absurd barbarism to maintain by the means of informers and executioners, the religion of a God, who died by the hands of executioners. It is almost as contradictory, as to amass for one's own private use all the riches of a prince and his people, in the name of a God who was born and lived in poverty.

THE PAPACY IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

In the year 1339, Christopher, king of Denmark, having been deposed by his nobles and clergy, Magnus, king of Sweden, sends to the pope, to ask of him Scania, and some other territories. "You know, most holy father," says he in his letter to the pontiff, "that the kingdom of Denmark depends altogether on the Church of Rome, to whom it pays tribute, and not on the empire." This pontiff, to whom the king of Sweden was a suitor, and whose temporal jurisdiction over all the sovereigns of the earth he so fully acknowledges, was James Fournier, Benedict XII., who then resided at Avignon.

However, the name is not material: the question is, to show that every prince who had a mind to usurp or recover any dominion, always addressed himself to the pope as his master. Benedict sided with the king of Denmark, and returned for answer to the above letter: "that he should not proceed against that prince till he had summoned him to appear before him, agreeable to ancient custom."

SCIENCES IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

In this century men passed from a state of brutal to a state of scholastic ignorance. Albert, surnamed the Great, taught the principles of heat, cold, dryness, and moisture; he also taught politics according to the rules of astrology and the influence of the planets, and morality by Aristotle's logic.

It often happened that the wisest institutions arose only from blindness and weakness. There is not a more noble and splendid ceremony belonging to the Church, nor one better calculated to inspire the common people with a religious awe, than that of the holy sacrament, or Corpus Christi. Antiquity could not boast anything equal to it; and yet from whence had it its rise? A nun of Liège, whose name was Moncomillon, dreamed every night that she saw a hole in the moon; she had afterward a vision, which told her that the moon was the Church, and the hole signified a festival, which was wanting in the Church. Upon this a monk, named John, assisted her in composing

the office of the holy sacrament: this festival was established at Liège, and in a short time Pope Urban X. made it an immovable feast throughout the whole Christian Church.

In the twelfth century, the black and white friars formed two great factions, which divided the cities much in the same manner as the blue and green factions did the minds of the people in the Roman Empire. However, about the thirteenth century, when the mendicant friars began to grow into credit, the blacks and the whites united against these newcomers, till at length one-half of Europe was raised against them all. The studies of the schools were then, and indeed are at present, such systems of absurdity, as, were they to be imputed to the people of Taprobania, we should think those people belied. One question was: "Whether God can produce the universal nature of things, and preserve it without there being things?" Another: "Whether God can be in a predicate sense, whether he can communicate his creating power, or render what he has made not-made, and change a married woman into a virgin?" A third: "Whether each person in the Godhead can assume which of the three natures he pleases?" A fourth: "Whether God can be a beetle or a grasshopper?" A fifth: "Whether God produces the Son by intellect, or by will; by essence, or by attribute; naturally, or of his free will?" And the doctors, who propounded these curious questions, called them-

selves the great, the subtle, the angelic, the irrefragable, the solemn, the enlightened, the universal, and the profound. These doctors were to the ancient fathers, what a pretender to wit is to a man of solid learning.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

The kings of Castile, in the twelfth century, still continued to take the title of emperor of Spain. Alphonso, count of a part of Portugal, was their vassal while he was weak; but as soon as he found himself master, by right of arms, of a considerable province, he constituted himself an independent sovereign. The king of Castile made war against him as a rebellious vassal; but the new king of Portugal submitted himself and his crown to the holy see, in like manner as the Normans, who became vassals to Rome, for the kingdom of Naples. Eugenius III. confers, that is, gives the kingly dignity to Alphonso and his posterity, for an annual tribute of two pounds' weight of gold. Pope Alexander III., his successor, confirms this donation, on condition of the same payment. These popes then actually gave kingdoms. The estates of Portugal being convoked at Lamego, by Alphonso, in order to frame laws for the government of his new kingdom, began by reading the bull of Pope Eugenius III., which bestowed the crown on Alphonso; therefore, they considered it as the principal right of their sovereignty. This is an additional proof of

the customs and prejudices of these times. No new prince dared to assume the title of sovereign, nor could be acknowledged such by other sovereigns, without the permission of the pope; and the basis of all the history of the middle ages is always that the popes looked on themselves as lords paramount of every state, without exception, in virtue of being the pretended successors of Jesus Christ; and the German emperors, on their side, pretended to think, and even declared, in all their public writings, that the several kingdoms of Europe were only branches that had been torn from their empire, because they pretended to be successors to the Cæsars. The Spaniards were establishing more real rights.

Alphonso the Wise, in his book of laws, entitled *"Las Partidas,"* says, "that the despotic monarch tears up the tree, and the wise monarch prunes it."

PHILIP THE FAIR AND BONIFACE VIII.

You may already have observed that, after the death of Charlemagne, there was not one pontiff who had not some intricate and violent dispute with the emperors and kings. You will see likewise, that those disputes, which are the necessary consequences of the most absurd form of government to which mankind ever submitted, continued till the age of Louis XIV. This absurdity consisted in making a foreigner master at home, and in absolutely permitting this foreigner to dispose of fiefs in your own country; in not being able to receive any part of

the revenue of those fiefs, without the permission of this foreigner, and admitting him to a share in them; in being continually exposed to see those very temples which you yourself built and endowed, shut up by his orders, and in consenting that one part of your subjects should be obliged to go and plead their cause at the distance of three hundred leagues from their own country. These, however, are but slight links of those fetters with which the crowned heads of Europe insensibly, and almost without knowing it, loaded themselves and their subjects. At present, it is well known, that if anyone was to propose to a sovereign or his council to submit to such customs, he would be looked upon as a madman: the yoke, which first appeared light, increased in weight every day. It was found necessary to alleviate it; but mankind had neither wisdom, knowledge, nor resolution enough to throw it off.

Pope Boniface VIII., by a bull which had been a long time famous, had decreed, "that no person in holy orders was to pay anything to the king, his master, without the express commission of the sovereign pontiff." Philip, king of France, did not dare immediately to order this bull to be burned; and therefore contented himself with issuing an ordinance prohibiting the carrying of money out of the kingdom, without making any mention of Rome therein. Negotiations were set on foot upon this occasion; the pope, to gain time, canonized St. Louis; and from thence the monks concluded, that

the man who could thus dispose of a place in heaven, might equally well dispose of the riches of the earth.

The king pleaded before the archbishop of Narbonne at Senlis, against the bishop of Pamiers, by the mouth of his chancellor, Peter Flotta; and the chancellor went in person to Rome to lay before the pope an account of the proceedings. The kings of Cappadocia and Bithynia were used to act in the same manner toward the Roman republic; but Flotta did more than they, for he spoke to the pope as the minister of a real sovereign to an imaginary one; expressing himself in these very words: "The kingdom of France is of this world, but that of the popes is not."

Nevertheless, the pope had the presumption to take offence at this, and writes a brief to the king, in which he thus expresses himself: "Know that you are in subjection to us, not only in spiritual, but also in temporal matters." A judicious and learned historian remarks very aptly, that this brief was preserved in an ancient manuscript in the library of St.-Germain-des-Prés, in Paris, but that the leaf has been torn out; but there is still a table of contents, that points out the place where it was, and an extract, which preserves the remembrance of it.

To this extraordinary letter, Philip returned as extraordinary an answer, which was as follows: "To Boniface, the pretended pope, little or no health: Be it known to your most supreme vanity, that we are in subjection to no one in temporal mat-

ters." The historian above mentioned observes that this answer of the king's is preserved in the Vatican. This shows that the modern Romans have been more careful in preserving curious things than the Benedictines of Paris. Some have vainly disputed the authenticity of these letters; I do not suppose that they were ever sent with the customary formalities, or presented in form, but there is not the least doubt of their having been written.

The pontiff threw out bulls on bulls, all asserting the pope to be master of all kingdoms; and that the king of France, if he did not forthwith yield obedience to him, should be excommunicated, and his kingdom put under an interdict, that is to say, a total stop put to all religious duties, even to baptism and the burial of the dead. It appears the height of contradiction the mind of man can be capable of, that a Christian bishop, who pretends that all of the same faith are his subjects, should want to hinder these pretended subjects from being Christians, and thus deprive himself, at once, of what he looks on as his own property. But you will easily judge, that the pope depended on the weakness of mankind in general, and flattered himself that the French would be ready enough to sacrifice their king, to the dread of being deprived of the sacraments; but here he was for once mistaken. They burned his bull, and the kingdom of France took arms against the pope, but without rejecting the papal authority.

You have seen the popes give away the empire, Aragon, England, Sicily, and almost every other kingdom. That of France had not as yet been transferred by a bull. But now Boniface put it on a footing with other states, and made a donation of it to the emperor Albert of Austria, whom he had some time before excommunicated, and who was now his dearly beloved son, and a prop of the Church. Observe only these words of his bull: "We bestow on you by the plenitude of our power, ... the kingdom of France, which belongs of right to the emperors of the West." Here Boniface and his datary did not certainly give themselves time to think, for if France belonged of right to the emperor, there was no room for the exertion of this plenitude of power. There was, however, some shadow of reason in this absurdity; it flattered the pretensions of the empire to all the dominions of the West, for you will always find that the German civilians were of the opinion, or at least pretended to be so, that the Roman state having delivered up itself, together with its bishop, to Charlemagne, all the West, of consequence, belonged to his successors, and that the other states were only branches torn from the empire.

Had Albert of Austria had an army of two hundred thousand men, it is certain that he would have taken advantage of Boniface's bounty; but being poor, and not well settled on his throne, he left his holiness to be laughed at for his ridiculous donation.

The king of France joined the house of Colonna, who cared as little for excommunication as himself; and who frequently checked in Rome that very power, which was so formidable in other places.

The popes who wanted to be too powerful, were, as you see, constantly giving away kingdoms, and being persecuted themselves at home.

Philip the Fair was so far from persecuting the memory of Pope Boniface, that he contented himself with barely warding off the stroke of excommunication, levelled by this Boniface against him and his subjects; and even suffered Nogaret, who had so well served him, who had acted wholly in his name, and had avenged him on Boniface, to be condemned by the successor of that pontiff, to perpetual exile in Palestine, so that all the noble beginnings of Philip the Fair terminated only in disgrace. In this great portrait of the world, you will never find a king of France, who in the long run has got the better of a pope. They may compromise matters indeed, but Rome will always be a gainer by the bargain, and France out of pocket. You will find only the parliaments of the kingdom opposing with steadiness the artifices of the holy see; and that frequently, the policy or weakness of the cabinet, the exigence of circumstances, and the intrigues of the monks, will render this steadiness of no effect.

Philip the Fair, in order to give vent to his displeasure, drove all the Jews out of his kingdom, seized on their wealth, and forbade them ever to

return again under pain of death. This arret was not issued by the parliament; it was in virtue of a secret ordinance, passed by his privy council, that Philip punished the usury of the Jews by an act of injustice, by which the people thought themselves revenged, and the king found himself enriched.

I do not know what share accrued to the pope from the confiscated estates of the Templars; but it is evident that the expenses of the cardinals and inquisitors, delegated to carry on this shocking process, amounted to immense sums. I was perhaps mistaken when I read, together with you, the circular letter of Philip the Fair, in which he commands his subjects to restore the movables, and other effects of the Templars, to the pope's commissioners. This ordinance of Philip is related by Pierre Dupuy. We thought that the pope had profited by this pretended restitution; for to whom can a restitution be made, but to those who had been proprietors? Now, in those days the popes were thought to be masters of all Church possessions; however, I have not been able to discover that the pope actually received the profits arising from the spoils of these unhappy victims.

SWITZERLAND.

Equality, the natural inheritance of mankind, still subsists as much as possible in Switzerland; you are not, by this term, to understand that absurd and impossible equality, by which the master and the

servant, the magistrate and the artificer, the plaintiff and the judge are confounded together; but that equality, by which the subject depends only on the laws; and which is the defence of the weak, against the ambition of the powerful.

There are very few republican states in the world, and these are indebted for their liberty to the rocks and seas, that serve them as bulwarks. Men in general are very seldom worthy to have the government of themselves.

THE GOLDEN BULL.

It is said in the Golden Bull, which was drawn up by Bartolus, that the seven electors were already established, therefore they must have been so, but it must have been a very short time before, for all the prior testimonies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries show us, that till the reign of Frederick II., the emperor was elected by the lords and prelates possessed of fiefs, as this verse of Hove proves:

"Emperors are elected by the unanimous consent of the lords and clergy." But as the principal officers of the household were powerful princes, and as these officers had the declaring of the person who was elected by the plurality of suffrages; and lastly, as they were seven in number, they on the death of Frederick II. assumed a right of nominating him, who was to be their master, and this was the real origin of the seven electors.

Originally the title of steward, master of the

horse, and cup-bearer, belonged to the head servants in the royal and other great families. In process of time, these officers assumed the titles of stewards and cup-bearers of the empire. Thus, in France, the person who had the furnishing of the king's household with wine, was called the chief butler of France; his master of the pantry, and his cup-bearer, became grand pantlers, and grand cup-bearers of France, though undoubtedly these officers neither served the empire, nor the kingdom of France, with bread, wine, or meat. Europe was overrun with these hereditary dignities, and those of marshals, and *grands veneurs,* or great huntsmen and chamberlains of a province; even the title of grand master of the beggars in Champagne was hereditary in certain families.

The emperor was styled in the Golden Bull, the head of the world, *caput orbis.* The dauphin of France, son of the unfortunate king John, assisted at this ceremony, and Cardinal Alba took the precedence of him; so true it is, that at that time Europe was considered as a body which had two heads, and these two heads were the emperor and the pope; and other princes were regarded in the diets and the conclaves, as no other than members that should be vassals. But remark how customs have changed; the electors, who then yielded the precedence to the cardinals, have for a long time taken precedence of those who dared to sit above the dauphin.

These various changes in customs and privileges,

and this obstinacy in maintaining a title, with so little power to support it, forms the history of the lower empire, which the popes erected, by calling in Charlemagne, and afterward the Othos, in Italy, when in a weak state. All the popes destroyed it as much as they were able; and this body, which was, and still is, called the Holy Roman Empire, was in no manner a holy Roman Empire.

EUROPE IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES.

A father of the Council of Constance said to John Huss: "If the sacred council should pronounce you blind, it would not signify that you had two eyes in your head; you must acknowledge yourself blind."

Read the "Life of Ezzelino d'Aromano," tyrant of Padua, so naturally and so well written by Pietro Gerardo, his contemporary. You will find that this tyrant put to death upward of twelve thousand citizens of Padua, in the thirteenth century. The pope's legate, who fought against him, put to death at least as many of the inhabitants of Vicenza, Verona, and Ferrara. Ezzelino was at length taken prisoner; and himself, with all his family, perished by the most cruel torments.

Isabella, queen of Edward II., caused to be inserted in the sentence pronounced against the

younger Spenser, that he should have those parts cut off, of which he had made criminal use with the king. This part of the sentence was executed upon him at the gallows, and she had the courage to be present while it was performed. Froissart does not hesitate to call these parts by their proper names.

EDWARD III. AND THE SALIC LAW.

One Tressel made known to Edward III. his deposition in these words, which are still preserved in the public acts: "I, William Tressel, in behalf of the parliament and people of England, declare to you, in their name, and by their authority, that I renounce, revoke, and withdraw the homage I have done to you, and deprive you of the kingly power."

It has always been a custom to strengthen opinions, of whatsoever kind, by the authority of the sacred writings. The followers of the Salic law quoted this passage in St. Matthew: "The lilies toil not, neither do they spin;" and hence concluded, that as it was the business of the women to spin, they ought not to reign in the kingdom of lilies; and yet the lilies do not toil, and a sovereign must. The lions of England, and the towers of Castile, do not spin any more than the lilies of France; and yet women may succeed to the crown of those two kingdoms. Moreover, the armorial bearings of the kings of France bear no resemblance to lilies; they appear plainly to be the heads of the old-fashioned pikes or halberds, as we find them described in the

bad verse of William the Breton. The shield of France has an iron spike in the midst of the halberd.

Not only the daughters were excluded from the succession, but the representative of a daughter's family. It was pretended that King Edward could not possess a right by his mother, which she herself had not. But there was a more cogent reason for preferring a prince of the blood to a foreigner, the native of a country naturally an enemy to France.

The emperor, Louis of Bavaria, joined the king of England with more pomp than the brewer, but with less advantage to Edward.

And here I would have you attentively remark the prejudice which reigned at that time in the German republic, which was dignified with the title of Roman Empire. This Louis, the emperor, who was only in possession of Bavaria, invested King Edward III., in the city of Cologne, with the dignity of vicar of the empire, in the presence of almost all the English and German princes and knights. He there declares the king of France to be disloyal and perfidious, that he has forfeited the protection of the empire, and by this act secretly declares Philip of Valois and Edward to be his vassals.

The English monarch soon perceived that the title of vicar was as empty in itself as that of emperor when not supported by the Germanic body; and he conceived such a dislike to the German anarchy, that when he was afterward offered the empire, he rejected it with disdain.

The beginning of this war gave a proof of that superiority which the English nation might one day have on the sea. Edward was at first to endeavor to land in France with a powerful army, and Philip to hinder him. Both monarchs fitted out in a very short time a fleet of one hundred ships each. These ships, however, were nothing more than large barks. Edward was not, at that time, like the French king, sufficiently rich to build them at his own expense. Of the hundred English ships, twenty only belonged to him, the rest were furnished by the seaport towns in England. That nation was then so poor in specie, that the pay of the prince of Wales was no more than twenty shillings a day; that of the bishop of Durham, one of the admirals, only six, and the barons had but four each; however, the poorer side conquered the richer, as is almost always the case.

Sea-fights, in those days, were more bloody than they are at present. They did not indeed use cannon, which makes so much noise, but there were many more killed on all sides. The ships boarded each other at the head or prow, and then letting down a kind of drawbridge which was fastened to the shrouds, ready for the occasion, the crews of each fought as upon firm ground. Philip's admirals lost seventy ships, and near twenty thousand men. This was the prelude to the glory of Edward, and his son, the Black Prince, who gained the battle in their own persons.

It is said that, during the siege of Calais, Philip

of Valois, finding that he could not force the besiegers' lines, in a fit of rage proposed to King Edward to decide this great quarrel by a combat of six men on a side. Edward, who was not willing to hazard the certain taking of the place on an uncertain combat, refused Philip's challenge, as the latter had before done his. We never see princes terminating their differences between themselves: the blood of the people has always flowed on these occasions.

The most memorable thing that happened in this siege, is the right which King Edward reserved to himself by the capitulation, to hang up any six of the chief citizens of the place he should decide on, and for which there appears to be no reason, as the citizens of Calais were no rebels; but, in fact, they might suppose, that if Edward really wanted to put a halter about their neck, it was not to put them to death by it, for he treated them with great humanity, and made a present to each of six gold crowns, known by the name of " rose nobles."

If it had been his intention to hang anyone, he had perhaps a right to revenge himself in this manner on Geoffry de Charmi, who, after the surrender of the town, endeavored to corrupt the English governor by an offer of 20,000 crowns, and who was taken as he was coming out of the gates, together with the chevalier Eustace de Ribaumont. This Ribaumont, in the fight, struck King Edward to the ground. The same day that monarch entertained both of them at his own table, and presented

Ribaumont with a coronet of pearls, which he himself placed on his head. It is therefore unjust to suppose that he had ever an intention to hang six citizens, who had fought well for their country.

After his victories and conquests, Edward spent his time in nothing but tournaments: enamored of a woman unworthy of his affection, he sacrificed to her his interest and glory, and at length lost all the fruits of his toils and achievements in France. He was wholly taken up with diversions, tournaments, and instituting his order of the garter. The famous Round Table set up by him at Windsor, and to which all the knights in Europe were invited, gave the first rise to all the fabulous stories of the Knights of the Round Table, which romance writers fictitiously attribute to King Arthur. At length Edward, after having outlived his fame and good fortune, died in the arms of his mistress, Alice Pierce, who, while she was closing his eyes, stole the jewels he wore about him, and even the ring from off his finger. It is difficult to say which died more miserably, the conqueror, or the conquered.

Richard II. was despoiled according to law. He was tried by the parliament as Edward III. had been. The charge brought in form against him has been preserved; among other things, he was accused of having borrowed money without repaying it; of having kept spies, and of having said that he was master of the estates of his subjects. He was condemned as a traitor and an enemy to liberty.

HENRY V. AND THE SALIC LAW.

Here, then, we see the Salic law abolished, the lawful heir to the crown disinherited and proscribed, and the son-in-law reigning peaceably, and taking away the inheritance from his brother-in-law; in like manner we have since seen William, prince of Orange, a foreigner, dispossessing his wife's father of the crown of England. If this revolution had been as durable as some others, and had the successors of Henry V. supported the edifice which had been raised by their father, and continued in possession of the throne of France, where is the historian who would have thought of disputing the justice of their cause? Mézeray, in this case, would not have asserted that Henry V. died of hemorrhoids, with which he had been afflicted as a punishment for having seated himself on the throne of the French kings. The popes would have sent bulls upon bulls to the successful usurpers of that throne. They would have been all the anointed of the Lord, and the Salic law would have been treated as an idle chimera. What crowds of Benedictines would have been ready and eager to present the descendants of Henry V. with old vouchers against this law! And how many brilliant wits would have employed their talents in turning it into ridicule, while the most celebrated preachers would have exalted to the skies Henry as the avenger of innocent blood, and the deliverer of France!

CHARLES VII. OF FRANCE.

Let the inhabitants of an extensive city, where peace, pleasure, and the polite arts reign in all their lustre, and where reason begins every day to gain ground — let them, I say, compare these with former times, and complain if they dare.

It was not till the year 1437 that Charles VII. made his entry into Paris. The citizens, who had distinguished themselves by so many massacres, went forth to meet him with all the demonstrations of affection and joy that were in use among a people then uncivilized. Seven young women, personating the seven sins which are called mortal, and a like number of others personating the divine and cardinal virtues, each carrying a scroll in her hand, received him at St. Denis's gate. He stopped some time there to see the representation of some religious mysteries, which were played by strollers mounted on stools. The inhabitants of this capital were at that time poorer than the meanest laborers are now, and the people of the provinces were still more so. It took more than twenty years to reform the state.

CUSTOMS AND ARTS IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES.

The following circumstance is alone sufficient to show the great scarcity of money at that time, both in Scotland and England, as well as the rusticity, commonly called simplicity, of those days. We

CHARLES VII. OF FRANCE

read in the public acts, that when the kings of Scotland came to the English court, they had thirty shillings a day assigned them for maintenance, twelve loaves, twelve cakes, and thirty bottles of wine.

The bishops had, for a long time, been accustomed never to go abroad without a great number of servants and horses to attend them. A council held at Lateran, in the year 1179, in the pontificate of Pope Alexander III., reproached them, that when they went to visit the monasteries, these latter were frequently obliged to sell all their church-plate to defray the expenses of their reception. The retinue of the archbishops was contracted by the canons of the councils to fifty horses, that of the bishops to thirty, that of the cardinals to twenty-five; for a cardinal, who was not at the same time bishop, and consequently had no church-lands, could not support the pomp of a bishop. This magnificence in the prelates appeared more hateful than it does at present, because there was not then any middle rank between the great and the mean, the rich and the poor. It was only the help of time that formed that middling rank which at present make the riches of a nation.

The dramatic art did not exist in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In Italy they were acquainted with nothing of the kind, but certain simple representations of some particular stories in the Old and New Testaments, and thence the custom of playing mysteries passed into France. These

exhibitions came originally from Constantinople, where they had been introduced by the poet St. Gregory Nazianzen, in opposition to the dramatic pieces of the ancient Greeks and Romans; and as the choruses in the Greek tragedies were religious hymns, and their theatre held a sacred part, Gregory, and his successors, composed sacred tragedies; but unhappily this new theatre had by no means that pre-eminence over the stage of Athens, which the Christian religion had over that of the Gentiles. There are still some remains of these pious farces in strolling theatres, which to this day exhibit the story of the shepherds. On holidays, or other times of religious festivals, they represent the birth and sufferings of our Saviour. These customs were soon adopted by the common people in the northern nations. These subjects have since been treated in a more suitable manner, of which we have instances in those little operas, which are known by the name of oratorios, and the French have exhibited the most masterly productions on their stage, taken from stories in the Old Testament.

The brotherhood of the passion in France, toward the end of the fifteenth century, brought Jesus Christ in person on the stage. Had the French language been then as majestic and pure as it was low and grovelling; if among so many dull and illiterate persons, there had been one man of genius, it is not improbable that the death and sufferings of a just and a righteous person, persecuted by Jewish priests,

and condemned by a Roman prætor, might have furnished matter for a sublime work; but this required an enlightened age, and such an age would not have permitted this kind of representation.

Du Cange, and his continuers, very exact compilers, quote a manuscript upward of five hundred years old, in which is found the following hymn of the ass:

Orientis partibus
Adventavit asinus
Pulcher et fortissimus.

A young damsel, representing the mother of God, journeying into Egypt, mounted on this ass, and holding a young child in her arms, led the procession; and at the end of the mass, instead of repeating the words, *ita missa est,* the priest began braying as loud as he could stretch his lungs, and the people answered him with the same cry.

This more than savage superstition had nevertheless its origin in Italy. And although, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, some few Italians began to emerge from darkness, yet the populace in general continued plunged in ignorance. They had entertained a notion at Verona, that the ass which carried our Saviour had walked on the sea, and had come through the Gulf of Venice, as far as the banks of the Adige, where Jesus assigned him a certain field for pasturage, in which he lived a long time, and in which he afterward died. The bones of this animal were enclosed within a case, made in

the shape of an ass, which was deposited in the church of Notre Dame des Orgues, or Our Lady of the Organs, under the care of four canons; and these revered relics were carried about three times a year.

This ass of Verona was the making of the house of Our Lady of Loretto. Pope Boniface VIII., seeing that the procession of the ass brought such a concourse of strangers, bethought himself that the Virgin Mary's house must certainly bring still a greater number; and in this he was not deceived. He accordingly gave his apostolic sanction to this fable. And the people who were capable of believing that the ass walked on the sea, from Jerusalem to Verona, were easily persuaded that the Virgin Mary's house might have been transported from Nazareth to Loretto. This little house was encased in a magnificent church, and in a short time, by the pilgrimages of devotees, and the presents of several crowned heads, this temple became as rich as that of Ephesus. The Italians, at least, found their market in the blind superstition of other nations; but at the same time they gave in to this superstition themselves, by following the popular prejudice and the spirit of the times. You may have had many occasions to observe that enthusiasm, to which mankind have a natural propensity, has served to render them not only more stupid, but also more wicked. Pure religion softens the manners by enlightening the understanding; and, on the contrary,

superstition, by blinding the judgment, inspires rage and cruelty.

There was at that time in Normandy, which is called the country of wisdom, an abbot of the cuckolds, who used to traverse through many towns, in a kind of chair drawn by four horses, with a mitre on his head, and a crosier in his hand, dispensing benedictions, and issuing mandates.

There was also a king of the stews established at court by patent. He was originally the chief or judge of a petty guard belonging to the palace, and afterward a court-fool, who used to exact a certain fee from all the pickpockets and night-walkers. There was not a town but what had a society of artificers, burghers, and even of women, among whom the most extravagant ceremonies were stamped with the title of religious mysteries; and hence came the fraternity of freemasons, an institution which has bid defiance to time, the great leveller of all others.

The most contemptible, though at the same time the most numerous of all these fraternities, was that of the flagellants or floggers; it had its first origin in the insolence of some priests who took advantage of the weakness of public penitents, so far as to scourge them. We see the remains of this brutal custom in the wands or switches, which the penitentiaries in Rome carry in their hands on the days of any solemn procession. The monks, at length, came to scourge themselves, on a supposition that nothing

could be more pleasing to God, than the welted back of a brawny friar. In the eleventh century, one Peter Damien persuaded several of the laity to exercise this discipline on themselves stark naked. In 1260 there were several fraternities of pilgrims who came through all Italy armed with rods and disciplines. They at length made the tour of one-half of Europe. This association in time grew up into a sect which it was found necessary to suppress.

In Venice, Genoa, and other republics, though the people had no share in the government, they were never held in slavery. The citizens of Italy were very different from the burghers of the countries of the North; the burghers in Germany and in France were dependent on a lord, a bishop, or the king, and belonged to one man; but the citizens of Italy belonged only to the republic.

THE PARLIAMENT OF PARIS.

The parliament did not represent the nation, for to do this, it must be either nominated by the nation or have an inherent right in its own person. The officers of the parliament — the peers excepted — were named by the king, paid by the king, and removable by the king.

The descendants of lawyers are not to this day admitted into the chapters in Germany. It is a relic of ancient barbarism to annex a mark of degradation to one of the most noble functions of humanity, that of the distribution of justice.

It may be said, in answer to this, that it is not the function of distributing justice that is deemed derogatory, since the peers of the realm, and even sovereigns themselves, have executed this function; but that certain men of a low extraction, having been at first introduced into the Parliament of Paris, solely to carry on the causes, and not to give their voices, and having afterward assumed the rights and privileges of nobles, to whom alone it belonged to be the judges of the people, they ought not to be admitted to share those honors which appertain incommunicably to the body of nobles. The famous Fénelon, archbishop of Cambray, in a letter to the French Academy, says, that a person to be qualified to write the history of France, should be well versed in the ancient customs of the nation, and that he should know that the counsellors of parliament were originally serfs or vassals, who had studied the laws of their country, and who assisted the nobles with their advice in the court of parliament. This may be true, in respect to some who raised themselves by their merit; but it is still a greater truth, that the major part of the counsellors were not serfs, but the sons of creditable burghers, who had been a long time enfranchised, and lived as freemen under the king, whose burghers they were. This order of citizens has undoubtedly at all times and in every country, better opportunities of acquiring a knowledge in their profession than persons born in slavery.

This court was, as you know, the same as that which in England is called the court of King's Bench. The English kings, who were vassals to those of France, imitated all the customs of their lords paramount. There was a king's attorney in the Parliament of Paris, and there is one in the court of King's Bench in England. The chancellor of France may preside in the French Parliament; the chancellor of England may do the same in the King's Bench. The king, and the house of lords in England, may set aside the decrees of the court of King's Bench; in like manner the king of France, with his council of state, sets aside the arrets of the parliament; and he likewise might with the high barons and the nobles in the general assembly of the states, which are the parliament of the nation. The court of King's Bench cannot enact laws; neither can the Parliament of Paris. The very word "Bench" shows the great affinity between these courts; the bench of presidents still retains its name with us, and is now called the High or Upper Bench.

We have already remarked that the form of the English government has not changed like ours. The general assembly of the English states has always existed; they have shared in the legislation: whereas ours, by being so rarely convoked, are grown out of use. The courts of justice, which we call parliaments, having become perpetual, and being considerably increased, have insensibly acquired, partly by the concession of the kings, and partly by custom,

and even the unhappiness of the times, certain privileges which they never enjoyed, either under Philip the Fair, his sons, or Louis XI.

The chief distinction of the Parliament of Paris above the other courts of parliament, arises from the custom which the kings of France introduced, of having all their treaties and edicts registered in the chamber of parliament, during its session, as the most authentic depository; in other respects, this chamber never interfered in any affairs of state or of the revenues. Whatever regarded the regal revenue, or the imposition of taxes, was incontestably the department of the chamber of accounts. The first remonstrance of the parliament, touching the revenue, was in the reign of Francis I.

All things are more subject to change in France than in any other nation. There was an ancient custom, by which no arret, inflicting bodily punishment, could be executed till such arret was first signed by the king. This custom is still in force in England, and many other states; and nothing can be more just and humane. Fanaticism, party fury, and ignorance have condemned many innocent citizens to lose their lives. These citizens belong to the king, that is to say, to the state; but by these practices the country is robbed of a subject, and his family is rendered infamous, without the person, who is the representative of that country, knowing anything of the matter. How many innocent persons have we seen accused of

heresy, witchcraft, and a thousand imaginary crimes, whose lives might have been saved by a king of knowledge and understanding!

But Charles VI. was so far from being such a person, that he was in that deplorable situation which makes a man the sport of his fellow creatures.

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